

Jerusalem mufti declares: Assassinate Assad and get to Paradise

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Mufti of Jerusalem, Sheikh Sa'ad el-Din el-Alami, yesterday issued a *fatwa* or divine dispensation for anyone who assassinated Syrian president Hafez Assad, following last week's expulsion of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat from Damascus and the dramatic shift in Syrian-PLO relations.

The 80-year-old sheikh, who has been mufti of Jerusalem for the past 15 years, issued the Koranic ruling assuring anyone who killed the "infidel Assad" the status of a martyr and a place in Paradise.

The *fatwa*, issued at his own initiative in his capacity as mufti of Jerusalem, was said to have

profound symbolic, rather than immediate political, significance. Jerusalem is the third holiest site in Sunni Islam and a ruling by the city's mufti directed against an Arab leader was "admittedly very unusual," the sheikh said last night.

"This Assad has murdered many Moslems, including Palestinian Moslems. The Islamic law is that such a person must be killed," el-Alami said. He added that Assad was an agent of Israel and the U.S.

The sheikh's ruling was directed against Assad, who as a member of the minority Alawite sect not only supported Shia Iran in its war with Iraq but was also responsible for the massacre of thousands of members of the Moslem Brotherhood at

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Radical leaders in bid to save PLO unity

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and agencies

Embattled Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat received a major boost yesterday when the leaders of the 10 largest radical groups in the PLO united in a bid to face down Arafat's apparent attempt to oust him and dominate the organization.

George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Nayef Hawatma of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) said they were reuniting their groups into a single faction to strengthen the unity of Palestinian ranks under the PLO.

Syrian President Hafez Assad yesterday met with Habash and

other PFLP members, and emphasized to them the importance of uniting all Palestinian factions.

Bassam Abu-Sharif, spokesman for the PFLP, was quoted as saying after the merger was announced that the PLO leadership "will meet in the next few days for a firm and decisive decision on the unity of the PLO, its factions and institutions to counter any attempt to curb the PLO's independence."

The latter statement appears to have been a deliberate rebuke aimed at Damascus, which threw the PLO into deep disarray on Friday by expelling Arafat from Syrian territory.

Although both Habash and Hawatma have good relations with the regime of President Hafez Assad, they have not met with Assad

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Syrians invite former Lebanese PM

DAMASCUS (AP). — The Syrian government has invited former Lebanese prime minister Saeb Salam for an official visit, giving the indication Syria may be willing to discuss the Lebanese-Israeli withdrawal agreement, Syrian sources said yesterday.

Salam is one of Lebanon's most influential Moslem leaders and is closely involved in government policy-making.

The sources, who asked not to be named, said the invitation was for next day or so, but would not say who Salam would be meeting with.

The Syrians have refused to receive any Lebanese official since

the signing of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement in May.

Syrian President Hafez Assad has strongly rejected the agreement, saying it infringes on Syrian security and Lebanese sovereignty. The Syrian government refused to accept a visit by a special committee formed by Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, saying it would talk with the Lebanese only when Lebanon annulled the agreement with Israel.

Assad has also said he will not pull his troops out of northern and eastern Lebanon until Israel withdraws from the south completely and unconditionally.

Two IDF soldiers hurt in grenade attack

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ETULLA. — Two Israeli soldiers were wounded in Lebanon yesterday when two grenades were tossed at their vehicle from an ambush as it drove south along the Beirut-Sidon highway. The vehicle was part of a supply convoy.

The grenade attack took place about half a kilometre from the northern outskirts of Sidon. Fragments hit one of the convoy's jeeps, hitting the driver and a passenger. They were treated at the scene and returned to duty. Israeli Defence Forces units searched the area for the attackers.

Reuters reports that a man yesterday fired a rocket-propelled grenade and a submachinegun at an Israeli military vehicle at the northern entrance to Sidon and then ran away. The Israelis launched a search for him, witnesses said.

Other witnesses said there was an

explosion yesterday near an Israeli army position in Abul-Aswad, north of the south Lebanese port of Tyre.

The IDF spokesman has denied reports from foreign news agencies that refugees at the Ein Hilwe camp near Sidon were attacked yesterday by "hostile Lebanese elements."

A Katyusha rocket fired from a mobile launcher hit a fuel store at Zaharani oil terminal near Sidon yesterday. The blaze was quickly extinguished. Israeli troops came to the scene. Three other rockets were fired but they caused no damage.

Habib arrives

Jerusalem Post Reporter

U.S. special envoy Philip Habib arrived in Israel yesterday for talks with Prime Minister Menachem Begin on withdrawing foreign troops from Lebanon.

Habib, with special ambassador Morris Draper and deputy Secretary of State Richard Fairbanks, was scheduled to meet Begin today.

The Syrians have said they will not talk to Habib about the withdrawal of their troops from Lebanon, but Fairbanks is expected to visit Damascus to try to discuss the issue with Syrian leaders.

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MDs' strike on verge of settlement



Finance Minister Yoram Aridor leaving the Prime Minister's Office after yesterday's cabinet meeting, in which the government decided on arbitration to end the doctors' strike. (Rahamim Israeli)

Aridor 'will avenge defeat' over strike

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor will fight back against his fellow ministers following his defeat at their hands during yesterday's cabinet meeting, cabinet sources told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The sources added that Aridor, who strongly opposed arbitration from the start of the doctors' strike, will probably not resign.

Some of Aridor's aides said yesterday that the minister has not decided on his next step. He wants to wait until the conditions of arbitration with the doctors are established and the arbitrator nominated. The fight is not over, they said.

But for Aridor's colleagues in the government there was no doubt that he is now a much more difficult person to deal with. "Aridor is

physically tall but morally small," one minister told *The Post*. "He is the kind of person who must take his revenge."

But Aridor will not quit the cabinet as Yigael Hurwitz did in 1980, the minister added. "He is a much more sophisticated person than Hurwitz."

The Treasury was tense and gloomy yesterday afternoon, as Aridor arrived accompanied by his closest aides. The minister went to his office and gave orders that no one was to make any comment on the cabinet's decision to go for arbitration with the physicians.

There will be no reaction from the Treasury on this matter, the ministry spokesman said. "It was a government decision and the Treasury will execute it, but we will not comment on it," he added.

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Arbitration terms being negotiated

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
and MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Representatives of the Finance, Health and Justice ministries, the Histadrut's Kupat Holim Clalit and the Israel Medical Association last night huddled in Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir's office in what all termed a last-ditch effort to get the country's hospital wards open.

Last night's meeting followed yesterday's unanimous cabinet decision to submit the doctors' dispute to agreed arbitration. The cabinet's decision came after a tense five-and-a-half-hour meeting, during which Finance Minister Yoram Aridor complained of being let down by his colleagues.

The attorney-general was chairing last night's meeting, at which the ground rules for an arbitrator and his terms of reference were to be decided. The arbitrator's mandate, formulated at yesterday's cabinet session, was formally handed over at last night's meeting by cabinet secretary Dan Meridor.

According to sources at the talks last night at the East Jerusalem offices of the Justice Ministry, the doctors wanted first to discuss the arbitrator's terms of reference and then to decide who would be the arbitrator.

A cabinet source, however, said the intent of yesterday's arbitration decision by the cabinet was to leave the arbitrator to set his own terms of reference. The cabinet then envisioned choosing the arbitrator first, and then discussing his course of action.

"The doctors are trying to continue the negotiations, while what we want is arbitration," said the cabinet source.

Dr. Ram Ishai, chairman of the IMA, however said yesterday at the start of the meeting that the committee is "very very far from discussing the identity" of the arbitrator.

Ishai also confirmed that first the doctors wanted to clarify exactly what the cabinet meant when it said the arbitration would cover all those issues that "had not been agreed upon" hitherto.

A high-ranking Justice Ministry source said last night as discussions were under way that "the crux of the issue is the terms of reference of the arbitrator. If they agree upon an arbitrator, he has the authority to

decide what will be arbitrated. But until they decide upon an arbitrator, all they are doing is conducting the same kind of negotiations that they did in the past, but under a different name."

The meeting, chaired by Zamir, was attended by Treasury Director-General Ezra Sadan, Health Ministry Director-General Baruch Modan and Kupat Holim Clalit chairman Haim Doron (representing the employers). The

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IMA was represented by chairman Ishai, his deputy, Dr. Haim Zakut, and the association's two legal advisers, Simha Keisman and Eli Zohar.

A source at the meeting last night at the attorney-general's office said it would be "a marathon session," but that the discussions were being held in "a pleasant atmosphere."

The source explained that the doctors and the employers were trying "to bridge some issues in order to speed up the talks." He said he expected them to continue into the early hours of this morning.

As of 11:15 last night, the discussion had not even begun to deal with who would be the arbitrator. A large carton of food was brought in to the participants.

"Everything could have been finished last Thursday night," said a government source at the meeting. He explained that despite reported agreement on a wide range of issues, last night's meeting included review and new discussion of issues that at least the government thought had been concluded last week.

A cabinet source said last night that the government would agree to the doctors' demand that the arbitration period be limited to 40 days.

The Jerusalem Post has learned that the two sides agreed to a basic wage scale — which would include certain existing supplements — and a special increment for residents of 10 per cent. They also agreed that the issue of a shortened work week would be decided by the arbitrator and agreed in principle that the new gains would be spread over a period of two to three years.

Doctors are ready to end fast today

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hospital strike committees last night decided to hold their crucial meeting on whether to approve the government's arbitration proposals "at the earliest possible moment" after the meeting at the Justice Ministry in Jerusalem ends.

Anxious about the collapse of the nation's hospitals and cautiously optimistic about arbitration, several hospitals, including Beersheba's Soroka and the government hospital in Safed, last night announced that they would immediately begin treating all patients coming to their emergency rooms, in anticipation of the end of the hunger strike by "this morning."

"But it must be stressed that we will not call off the hunger strike until the arbitration terms are signed, sealed and delivered. We have been tricked and fooled too many times

during the past four months to place even the slightest trust in the Treasury," one hospital committee chairman told *The Jerusalem Post* last night. Variations on this theme were heard from at least 10 hospital committees throughout the country.

Even if the decision to end the hunger strike is taken immediately, it will take at least two to five days to return to any sort of "normal conditions" in the hospitals, according to doctors' estimates.

During the first 24 hours after the fast, work at most hospitals will still be "at a bare minimum" since the doctors, some of whom have been fasting for more than 10 days, will not be physically able to resume normal duties immediately.

Responding to President Chaim Herzog's appeal yesterday to end the hunger strike immediately, rather than wait for the outcome of the arbitration negotiations, doctors

at Soroka last night announced that all Kupat Holim Clalit clinics in the Negev would reopen as of this morning. A pediatric treatment centre will also open today at the hospital. Herzog issued the call during a tour of Beit Shean.

"We felt compelled to push up the time of our national hospital committee meeting as much as we could. Time is running out to prevent a total disaster in the medical system," an Israel Medical Association official told *The Post* last night.

"The minute the meeting in Jerusalem ends, we will get our communications network in motion and convene a meeting in Tel Aviv, even if it's 4 o'clock in the morning. We don't have one second to lose," he said.

The IMA had originally scheduled the national committee meeting for noon today. But in the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Doctors fill empty beds as hospitals close

By MARGERY GREENFELD
with staff reports

Despite yesterday's cabinet decision to submit the doctors' strike to arbitration, hospitals throughout the country announced one after the other that their doors were shut to new patients. The nearly empty wards began to fill up with doctors who collapsed after fasting for up to 10 days.

More than 3,000 doctors throughout the country had joined the hunger strike by last night, and dozens of them were hospitalized yesterday with extreme fatigue, low blood pressure, dehydration, and other symptoms resulting from their prolonged fasts.

Several doctors were reported to have suffered heart attacks and were hospitalized in intensive care

units. Other doctors were ordered by the doctors supervising the hunger strike in each hospital to resume eating for "medical reasons." These reasons included dangerously low blood pressure, serious disturbances in blood sugar levels, other blood problems and fear of potential heart attack.

Ichilov Hospital in Tel Aviv closed down at 11 a.m. yesterday, with its few remaining patients who were too ill to be transferred or discharged concentrated in several wards.

All doctors from Ichilov who were still able to function joined other Tel Aviv doctors at the "state of emergency" hospital set up at Rokach (Hadassah Balfour), which is to act as the central medical facility for the Tel Aviv area during the hunger strike.

Hospitals in the Gaza Strip, Nablus and Tulkarm yesterday said they were willing to admit patients from Israeli hospitals that are closed. But in Beersheba, ambulance drivers refused to disregard the Magen David Adom's standing instructions to take patients to the nearest hospital. The drivers

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Israeli PoW has breakdown

DAMASCUS (AP). — An Israeli prisoner of war held by the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP-GC), has had a nervous breakdown and is under the care of a psychiatrist, a fellow prisoner and Palestinian officials said yesterday.

Nissim Shalem, 20, suffered the breakdown some weeks ago, and his condition is now "not good, but improving," according to the other Israeli soldier held by the group, Yoske Groff, 20.

The two were among eight Israelis captured by the Palestine Liberation Organization in

(Continued on back page)

Pentecostal family allowed to leave Russia

MOSCOW (AP). — The Vashchenko family, five of whose members were among the Siberian seven who took refuge in the U.S. Embassy after years of religious persecution in their home town, will be allowed to leave the Soviet Union, Tass said yesterday.

The unusual announcement on the official news agency said that the family of Pentecostalists Pyotr Vashchenko — he, his wife and 13 children — is leaving Krasnoyarsk Territory in accordance with the established procedure for departure from the USSR for residence abroad.

The family is leaving at the invitation of Lidia Vashchenko, who left for Israel this spring, Tass added. The brief Tass report did not make clear when the family would be allowed to leave the Soviet Union and end a two-decade fight to migrate.

The two U.S. consular officials most familiar with the Vashchenko case were not immediately available for comment.

A U.S. Embassy spokesman said he had "no information on it I can give you" when asked by A.P. if he knew when the family would leave and if they would pass through Moscow first.

The Vashchenko family's efforts to emigrate took a dramatic turn in 1978, when Pyotr Vashchenko, his wife Augustina, and their daughters Lubov, Lidia and Lilia dashed past Soviet guards at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and asked for help in their attempts to leave.

With them were Timofei Chmykhalov, now 21, and his mother Maria, now 60. The Tass announcement did not say anything about the fate of the Chmykhalov family.

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On Tuesday, *The Post* waves the Maple Leaf in a 16-page tribute to Israel-Canada relations. One of Israel's best diplomatic friends, Canada is also involved with Israel in bilateral export, investment and tourism.

Wednesday's *Post* features a supplement on the Outstanding Promoters of Tourism awards given by the Ministry of Tourism, and examines tourism within the country.

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	48	16-25	25
Golan	47	16-26	25
Nabatieh	63	22-27	27
Safed	52	16-25	25
Haifa Port	61	23-27	27
Tiberias	45	18-23	23
Be'er Sheva	62	22-27	27
Afula	48	22-29	29
Shomron	54	18-26	26
Tel Aviv	68	19-28	27
B-G Airport	53	21-28	28
Jericho	46	20-24	24
Gaza	65	22-26	27
Beer-sheva	44	19-29	29
Eilat	22	24-36	36

Patt and traders off to Canada

TEL AVIV (Itim).—A delegation of businessmen and industrialists is to visit Canada this weekend under the leadership of Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt.

The delegation, which has been invited by the Canadian government, is aiming to increase trade between the two countries and explore ways of reducing the trade gap between Israel and Canada, currently \$80 million in Canada's favour.

KILL ASSAD

(Continued from Page One)

Hama in Syria last year, said the sheikh.

Later yesterday, more than 500 people gathered in the silver-domed al-Aksa mosque inside the Temple Mount, to condemn the anti-Arafat rebellion within the ranks of al Fatah and denounce Syrian and Libyan support for it.

A statement released afterwards was endorsed by all the major organizations and institutions in the West Bank and Gaza, and by most mayors and other leading figures. It called on the rebels in the Bekaa to return and accept the leadership of Arafat and "resolve the differences by the democratic means available in the tradition of the Palestinian movement."

"Even if your demands were just, they would lose their legitimacy if you rally behind Syria and Libya, allowing them to use you as a Trojan horse to serve their personal interests," the statement read. "We call on you from the al-Aksa mosque, in the name of the mothers who have lost their sons and the fathers who have become martyrs and in the name of Sabra and Shatila to preserve national unity."

The statement went on specifically to condemn Syria and insist on the Palestinian right "to act and move freely all over the Arab territory." It also recalled the Syrian-supported massacre of Palestinians by Lebanese Phalangists at Tel Zaatar in Beirut in 1976.

In a signed article in *Al-Fajr* yesterday, Bassam Shak'a, the deposed mayor of Nablus and one of the leading radical PLO figures in the West Bank, denounced Damascus and endorsed the leadership of "Abu-Ammar" (Arafat). Shak'a was at one time widely thought to harbour strong pro-Syrian sentiments and his article, plus the support of various labour unions in the West Bank, for the anti-Syrian statement issued at al-Aksa is regarded as very significant by observers in East Jerusalem.

The al-Aksa statement, it was stressed, cut across all the recent, barely disguised rifts among local Palestinians such as the violent clashes between fundamentalist "Muslim brotherhood" and pro-PLO nationalist students at the local universities, and also included pro-Jordanians and communists.

HOME NEWS

Tense cabinet okays arbitration

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet yesterday decided unanimously to refer the doctors wage and work demands to arbitration at the close of a tense five-and-a-half-hour session during which Finance Minister Yoram Aridor complained of being victimized by the news media and let down by his colleagues.

The cabinet got around the thorny question of the terms of reference of the arbitration by stipulating that the arbitrator would discuss "all the questions not settled in the talks between the parties."

In the event of differences of opinion between the Treasury and the doctors about what had been settled and what had not been settled, the arbitrator would decide, the cabinet decision said. The cabinet expects the arbitration process to last some 40 days, according to cabinet secretary Dan Meridor.

Aridor, along with Transport Minister Haim Corfu and Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor, opposed the arbitration proposal during the discussion, but none of the three demanded a vote on the question so the decision was recorded as unanimous.

Aridor complained that none of his fellow-ministers reacted to the fact that the doctors' strike had "torn Israeli society asunder." At one time, the finance minister said, his cabinet colleagues had blamed him for being too "inflexible" but now he was being accused of "undue flexibility."

"I never insulted the doctors," he said flatly. Aridor accused the media of "brainwashing the public" over the doctors' demands and of spreading "lies." He said: "There is no way you can fight lies."

When Education Minister Ze'evulun Hammer said that the finance minister had been handling the doctors like he handled the El Al employees, Aridor said: "That's not true." Aridor said bitterly: "The lies are all part of a campaign to gag me. The media accused me of being solely responsible for the breakdown of the wage talks."

Earlier in the session, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak asked Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir if he could examine the circumstances under which the doctors could be called up for reserve service to the army and the hospitals operated on an emergency basis.

But Labour and Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzan, whose signature would be required on the call-up orders, said this proposal was absurd and the only course open was arbitration.

Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat said that call-up orders would only be effective against men who are physically fit, so it was an illusion to think the hospitals could be operated by doctors receiving only liquid nourishment.

Ben-Porat said: "In any case, let's not forget that the doctors are not enemies of the State of Israel."

Meridor and Corfu said it would

be illogical at this point for the government to surrender to the doctors' demands. If arbitration was unavoidable, they said, then it had to settle the entire labour contract, and not be limited to one or two issues. The doctors must not be allowed to lay down pre-conditions, they said.

After Aridor several times repeated that there was no money to pay the doctors, Uzan said: "If the minister proposes a health tax to be paid by patients when they visit the doctor, I shall oppose it."

Interior Minister Yosef Burg said the Treasury could have reached agreement with the doctors at the beginning of the strike when they were demanding less than they are demanding today.

After the session, a cabinet source refused to spell out which topics had been agreed upon in the negotiations with the doctors and which were still outstanding.

The sources conceded that the cabinet had gone astray over the doctors' strike because it had miscalculated how far the doctors would be ready to go "to endanger patients' lives."

The source said that Prime Minister Menachem Begin made his mind up about arbitration on the basis of reports about a gravely deteriorating situation in the hospitals and not in the wake of colleagues' pressure.

The source said: "Whatever the outcome, it will be the public which will have to foot the bill."

Weizman for Treasury report discounted

By SARAH HONIG

Top Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Sources close to Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday dismissed out of hand a report which asserted that Ezer Weizman is being considered to replace Finance Minister Yoram Aridor.

Questioned about his future, at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday, the former defence minister replied: "I have nothing to say."

The sources termed the report "ridiculous and nonsensical." They said they were "part of a long and calculated pro-Weizman rumour spreading campaign which has no relation whatever to reality."

The sources said they know of no intention by Aridor to step down. And even were he to make such a move "it is far-fetched to assume that the Treasury would be handed

over to Weizman."

"Weizman knows full well that in order to be accepted again in the Herut leadership he must first openly and publicly retract his attacks against Begin and declare his commitment to the territorial integrity of Eretz Yisrael."

Sources close to Aridor said that he is now "in a wait and see" position and will weigh his next move according to developments. In Herut, it is believed that were Aridor to step down, a likelier man to replace him would be Herut MK Yigal Cohen-Orad.

However, a possible Aridor resignation could cause havoc in the coalition by unleashing demands from the already troubled Liberal Party for the finance portfolio.

Several Liberal sources last night mentioned Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i as possible successor to

Aridor. This produced a strong and antagonistic response from Moda'i's opponents in his own party. They said they would rather see a Herut candidate than Moda'i at the Treasury.

Such pressure and counter-pressure can only aggravate the already escalated party-in-fighting following last week's death of Deputy Premier Simcha Ehrlich.

The rumours circulating yesterday included speculation that Begin's other deputy prime minister David Levy might be interested in Aridor's job.

According to last night's Israel Radio report, unidentified persons in Herut want to see Weizman entrusted with the treasury portfolio because, they say, he has knowledge of the economy and is popular enough to be able to resort to tough economic measures.

Histadrut welcomes cabinet arbitration move

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV.—The Histadrut yesterday welcomed the cabinet's decision to hand the outstanding differences with the doctors over to arbitration. "This is exactly what we demanded, we certainly welcome it," Histadrut spokesman Shmuel Soler said yesterday. "The decision should have been taken a week ago," he added, referring to the recommendation made by the Histadrut executive last Sunday during the body's only meeting on the dispute during the nearly four months of the strike.

The chairman of the trade union department, Israel Kessar said yesterday's decision was the lesser of all evils. While he would have preferred direct negotiations, he realized "free negotiations were impossible." The alternative was to continue the sick people's suffering — so arbitration is the lesser evil, he said.

(Continued from Page One)

threatened to bring patients to the paralyzed Soroka Hospital and "dump them on the doorstep." As of last night, all cases brought to the hospital were treated.

The director of the Meir Hospital in Kfar Sava, Dr. Emmanuel Yonai, yesterday denied rumours of a plan to transfer patients to hospitals on the West Bank. "There is no such instruction," he said.

At the Hillel Yofe Hospital in Hadera management and strikers decided to send Arab patients to a hospital in Nablus, "if the patients agree to the move."

At Beilinson in Petah Tikva, about 300 doctors are still on a hunger strike. Twenty of the fasters are hospitalized, and about 150 are working. Deputy director Dr. Yitzhak Moor is to be acting head of Beilinson in the immediate future following the recent resignation of Professor Ciro Servadio, who quit his post to protest against the government's handling of the strike.

Some 260 of Beilinson's 820 beds were empty yesterday, and although the emergency admissions ward continued to function as normal, few persons turned up.

Alignment Knesset faction chief Moshe Shalom warned that the government is seeking to cheat the doctors. He pointed to the "very curious wording in the government statement, whereby topics on which 'full agreement has not yet been reached' will be turned over to the consideration of the arbitrator. This opens the door very wide for the government to put almost everything before the arbitrator on the argument that while the doctors have agreed to certain formulas, the government has not, leaving the issue still open."

Shinui noted with satisfaction yesterday that it had demanded mediation weeks ago. The party may call on the Knesset to vote on a motion urging Prime Minister Menachem Begin to fire Finance Minister Yoram Aridor.

Herut MK Michael Kleiner, who went on a counter hunger strike to

protest what he called "the physicians' threat to hostages," also called for the enactment of an arbitrary legislation bill. Hebered his fellow Herut MK's for not joining his protest. "We will now live in a state of constant terror, with each professional group considering itself free to threaten the lives of others to advance their own narrow and private interests," he said.

The port workers in Haifa and Ashdod will demand renegotiation of their wage agreement if the doctors obtain salary rises in excess of the national wage policy. One of the unit secretaries in Haifa said yesterday that although the spokesman for the 13 large works committees which represent the port workers had undertaken not to demand increases similar to the doctors, this did not obligate the stevedores not to ask for rises, as they had not been consulted.

Several youths came to Soroka to join the hunger strike, while youth groups came to talk to the doctors about the hunger strike.

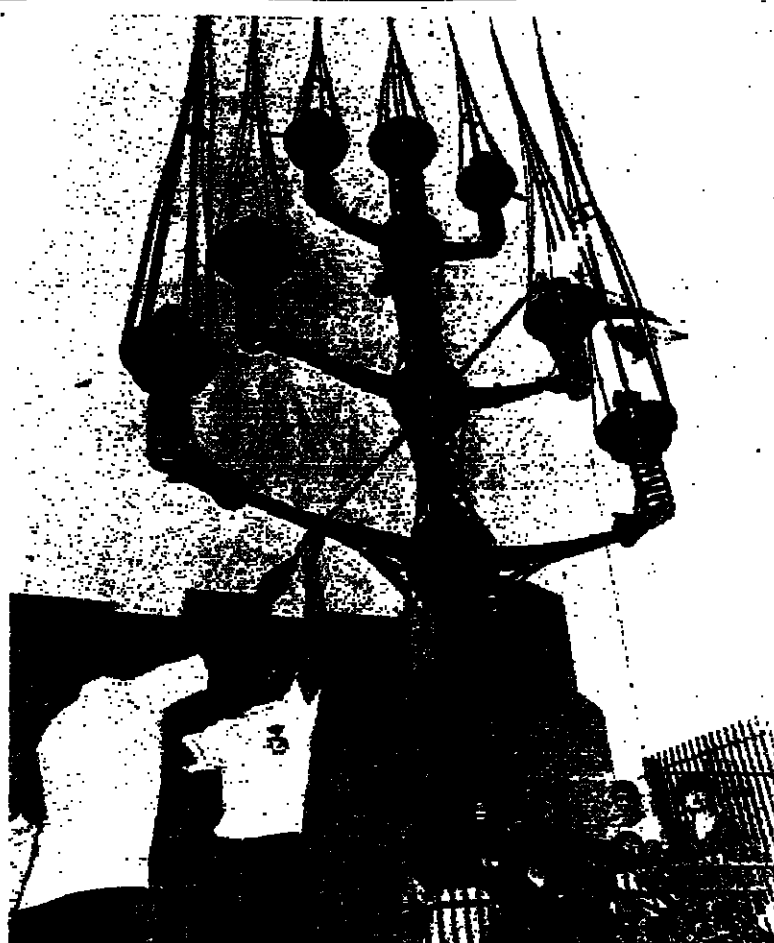
In Ashkelon, a delegation came from nearby kibbutzim and from the town of Sderot to show support for the hunger strikers.

Arab medical services in East Jerusalem have felt only a slight impact from the strike.

The El-Makassed Hospital on the Mount of Olives has received a small number of Arab patients who turned to the privately-owned hospital in the past week because of the strike, said a hospital official.

The medical centre in Sheikh Jarrah, which serves Arab Kupat Holim Clalit members in northern Jerusalem, has in the past week treated several Israelis from the adjacent government centre according to its director, Dr. Nafez Nubani.

At a private maternity hospital in Kaladiya run by Dr. Ahmed Muhtadie, which regularly receives a small number of Israeli women, no increase was reported during the past week.



At the Beit Pomerantz Community Centre yesterday Jerusalemites dedicated a memorial candelabrum, commemorating the fallen of the Shmuel Hanavi neighbourhood. Mayor Teddy Kollek and families of the fallen took part. (Rahamim Israeli)

Moshe Levy: Alertness ensures peace

GAZA (Itim). — Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy yesterday warned troops to maintain "maximum alertness" in the face of possible demonstrations of support on behalf of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District.

(In Jerusalem, police have prepared for a possible outbreak of disturbances by Arab residents of the eastern part of the city today, following reports of a planned march in support of Arafat.)

On a tour of the Gaza Strip accompanied by OC Southern Command Haim Levy, Levy said: "Arafat is liable to organize demonstrations for his own support in the territories, and so it is the duty of officers and soldiers to maintain maximum alertness. Terrorist activity in the vicinity of the Gaza Strip is no less painful or destructive than terrorist activity in (Lebanon's) Shouf Mountains."

Levy said that the strip is now quiet, due to the activity of the Israel Defence Forces and the security forces. But there is no guarantee such quiet will continue, he added.

Levy heard a review of regional security from staff officers and discussed the problems of refugees in the Jabaliya and Shatta camps, which he also toured. He said the problem of overcrowding should be overcome by a comprehensive plan and settled "once and for all."

One possible solution discussed was to allow camp residents to build high-rise apartment buildings. One officer pointed out, however, that a previous attempt at such housing had failed, when only half the available apartments had been sold. Levy also visited a unit of Druse soldiers undergoing basic training. He told them he wanted to see more Druse soldiers serve in other IDF units than the Border Police.

Ouster of Arafat called 'victory for Israel'

CAIRO (Reuters). — The Syrian expulsion of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat was a political victory for Israel, the semi-official newspaper *Al-Ahram* reported in its edition yesterday.

It said Prime Minister Menachem Begin was "reported to be depressed because his invasion of Lebanon brought no political gains."

"But, thanks to the Syrian forces, Begin is gaining now the political fruits of the Israeli invasion," the newspaper said.

It added that there was no logical reason for the Syrian expulsion of Arafat "except a desire for turning the Palestinian revolution into a tool in its hands."

Arafat won't be missed, says 'Washington Post'

WASHINGTON (JTA). — Asserting that PLO chief Yasser Arafat "deserves to be regarded not so much as 'moderate' as ineffective," the *Washington Post* said yesterday, "There need be no excessive mourning about Syria's humiliation of Arafat," the paper added.

According to the paper's editorial, "no one who believes that realism is the Palestinian national movement's vital need now will miss him." Furthermore, the *Post* noted that those who suggest that a PLO controlled by Syria will be more militant, "reader to fight than talk," fail to remember the "policies conducted or indulged over the years by Arafat."

ARAFAT

(Continued from Page One)

said, and take a clearly pro-Syrian line on many issues, they are apparently unwilling to deliver the PLO to Assad as a tool of Syrian policy.

Although they have opposed many of Arafat's diplomatic moves, they have remained basically loyal to him and have been working intensively to heal the rift that emerged in the mainstream Fatah group earlier last month.

Their warning that they are not prepared to acquiesce in any attempt by Assad to dominate the PLO will probably pre-empt any such attempt, which would have little chance of success without the support of the PFLP and the DFLP.

The planned PLO leadership meeting will probably take place in Tunis, and, according to Arab observers last night, it would probably be attended by all PLO

faction leaders with the possible exception of the heads of the pro-Libyan Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP-GC) and the strongly pro-Syrian Sa'ika. Abu-Sharif was quoted as saying that the meeting would also discuss ways of ending the PLO-Syria rift.

Arafat arrived in Tunis yesterday after a 24-hour visit to Prague. While in Prague he refrained from repeating his charge that Syria was aiding the dissident Fatah officers opposed to his leadership.

Five killed on roads

ASHKELON (Itim). — Four persons died yesterday afternoon in a head-on collision between a Peugeot private car and a truck on the Ashkelon-Gaza road.

On Saturday night in Petah Tikva a Subaru hit an elderly couple who were crossing a street at a pedestrian crossing, killing Ayala Shatt and severely injuring her husband, Tzemah.

ARIDOR

(Continued from Page One)

It was late yesterday afternoon before Aridor's aides got a word about the minister's intentions. At that time there was speculation he would present Prime Minister Menachem Begin with his resignation.

A Treasury official later told *Post* that it would be premature to say what Aridor will decide knowing what the Israel Medical Association's reaction is and the arbitration is to implemented.

It is even possible that Aridor wait until the arbitration process ends before deciding on his future, the official added.

Economic observers pointed that the Treasury is to press its case about what will be included in arbitration.

The identity of the arbitrator also important to the Treasury since he will finally decide what he will include in the negotiation between the doctors and employers last week, and what left for him to arbitrate.

At the same time Treasury officials made no effort to cool their disappointment at Aridor's cabinet setback. It has been less than a week since the finance minister's bitter about developments since week.

Thus, Aridor has refrained conducting the negotiations the IMA since last Monday. Prime Minister Begin personally intervened to impose flexibility on Treasury.

During the cabinet meeting yesterday Aridor accused the ministers of destroying the framework wage agreement for public sector, which is one of the main elements in the Treasury's economic policy.

Even before Aridor arrived at Treasury yesterday, the minister director general Ezra Sadan convened a meeting with some of the division officials and started an examination of the situation.

It is believed that the Treasury will propose financing the wage increase by imposing a fee of \$150 to \$200 per visit to the doctor. This fee is expected to amount to about \$2.5 billion.

DOCTORS REAR

(Continued from Page One)

light of the "catastrophic" state in the health-care system and amount of time necessary to recover from the fast, the hot committees themselves pressed advancing the meeting.

Amid the uncertainty about "real meaning" of the cabinet's decision, hospitals began to gear up for the imminent resumption of their doors.

"We're making a final effort to get the emergency room back in as soon as possible. But unfortunately, a survey among the fasters here showed that we don't have enough doctors functioning on any level to staff a properly," one of the strike leaders at Hadassah Ein Kerem told *Post* last night.

Prof. Dan Michaeli, head of Tel Aviv municipal hospital (Ichilov, Rokach and Hadassah), said that it would until the end of this week to get three hospitals functioning normally.

"I can make no prediction long it will take to catch up with huge backlog of cases which accumulated," he said.

Some 300 beds in the hospitals are empty, and 200-220 doctors in the three hospitals were still on hunger strike last night.

At Hasharon Hospital in Tikva, one doctor estimated the surgical departments were to deal with a backlog of operations that were postponed during the 118-day strike.

Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva will need four to five days of hunger strike is called off to function normally, Dr. Y. Moor, deputy director, said yesterday.

"The doctors who were prolonged hunger strike for at least three to four days to test their strength before they can handle a normal workload of them will also want to take days off to rest completely," said.

But the majority of the questioned also expressed worry that the damage done by the long strike could not be undone.

Conference Israel-England

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The mood of the doctors fluctuated between euphoria on Saturday night, when they felt that the strike's end was imminent, and depression yesterday as the talks dragged on for yet another day.

The general feeling was that nobody was to be trusted, and that possibly, the doctors were being misled once again.

All the doctors wanted the strike to end and normal duties to resume. They felt certain that the strike would have no long term effects on

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June 26, 1983

Her Daughters: Gitta Yaffe, Rachel Atzman

Doctors strike may speed passage of arbitration law

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV — The one immediate result of the doctors strike may be a quick enactment of legislation for compulsory arbitration in labour disputes in essential services.

Such legislation has for many years been in the election platform of the Likud, but there has been no chance that such a bill could ever receive majority support, primarily due to the fierce opposition of the National Religious Party.

The extreme measures to which the striking doctors have resorted in the past week, however, have acted like shock treatment on the coalition and have now changed the situation round radically, an NRP minister told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The legislation, which would have had no chance in the Knesset only a few days ago, will now be demanded with alacrity by all coalition parties, coalition sources predicted.

The NRP is now ready for a total about-turn, and after having vigorously demanded arbitration to end the doctors dispute, the party leaders now agree that special provisions should be made in labour disputes involving essential services. Disputes in which members of the

public could be turned into hostages for strikers' demands should be resolved by arbitration, the NRP now feels.

The Likud is likely to sponsor the legislation, with its Liberal component especially active on this count — considering compulsory arbitration in essential services a basic Liberal cause.

Another party pushing for the legislation energetically is Tehiya, which has such a bill already drafted, ready for submission to the house, MK Goula Cohen declared yesterday that as far as she is concerned such legislation "is every bit as essential as the bill extending Israeli law to the Golan. I am going to put up as much of a fight over this as I did over the Golan law," she said.

Aguda sources told *The Post* yesterday that they would be willing to back such legislation, considering it a matter of great importance since it could well save human lives. Similar reactions came yesterday from both Tami and MK Mordechai Ben-Porat.

Moves to bring about such legislation may be undertaken as early as next week, with an eye to submitting a bill to the Knesset before it begins its summer recess at the end of July.

Two years for attempted rape

HAIFA (Itim) — The Haifa District Court yesterday sentenced a man to two years in prison for attempted rape.

Michael Tzikhavshvili, 24, married with a son, was earlier convicted of forcing his way into a flat and trying to rape its woman resident in December 1982. The woman's boyfriend, who escaped from the flat, called the police, who prevented Tzikhavshvili from accomplishing his designs.

The Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday remanded in custody for

two days Jabi Adal, 25, of Jaffa, after police arrested him on suspicion of setting fire to his home and raping his wife. The two apparently live apart.

Moshe Gur, 42, of Holon, yesterday admitted to six charges of molesting women and cheating them. Gur was originally charged with nine counts of molesting hitchhikers and representing himself as a gynecologist. Gur's lawyer said the defendant is a "sick man" but the prosecution said that while Gur was certainly sick, he was fit to stand trial.

Many battered women 'suffer in silence'

Jerusalem Post Reporter

"Violence against women is the least-reported crime in the country, yet its victims number tens of thousands, Dr. Nitza Shapira-Libai, the prime minister's adviser on women's affairs, said yesterday.

She was speaking at a symposium on the subject of battered women at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem. The event was organized by the Prime Minister's Office, who's director-general Matityahu Shmuelovitz

said: "Violence against women is not only one of the most serious problems in Israeli society, it may also be one of the most dangerous."

Ruth Resnick, founder of the shelter for battered women in Herzliya, thought Shapira-Libai's estimate was probably too low. She said the number of battered women is close to 100,000. But, she agreed that only a few of the cases are reported, particularly among middle class women who are ashamed

Enter Doctor Binyamin Ze'ev Begin

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Menachem Begin's son, Binyamin Ze'ev (Benny) Begin, was actively involved in the efforts yesterday to resolve the doctors' strike.

Dr. Begin (his doctorate is in geology, not medicine) was seen by newsmen — despite elaborate attempts to conceal him — in Cabinet Secretary Dan Meridor's office after the cabinet meeting. He apparently took part in consultations with Yoram Aridor and Eliezer Shostak and with the attorney-general.

Meridor said that the prime minister's son was "trying to help matters." He refused to elaborate.

Newsmen who attend Meridor's weekly post-cabinet briefing in his



Binyamin Ze'ev Begin (Keren)

office were guided this time, without explanation, into another room for their meeting with the cabinet secretary.

However, they managed to establish — to Meridor's evident embarrassment — that the reason for the change of venue was Benny Begin's unpublicized presence in his office.

Meridor said that Benny Begin was a close personal friend of his and of other top government officials. He denied that he received regular reports on the cabinet's deliberations, but he indicated that the prime minister's son was familiar with affairs of state.

Observers recalled that the prime minister consulted with his son during the Camp David summit.

Surgeon operates after getting infusion

Jerusalem Post Staff

HAIFA — The head neurosurgeon of Haifa's Rambam Hospital, Professor Moshe Feinsod, was given permission to eat by the doctors' strike committee yesterday so that he could perform a brain operation on a three-year-old Lebanese boy.

The boy was flown in by UNIFIL helicopter on Saturday after he had been kicked in the face by a donkey. Diagnosis revealed brain damage and an urgent operation was scheduled.

But Feinsod, who had been fasting for more than a week, was at

first considered too weak to perform the operation. He was given an intravenous glucose drip for two hours by the strike committee before going into the operating theatre.

The operation, which lasted an hour, was reported to have gone smoothly. The boy's condition was later described as "satisfactory."

In Safad Hospital, Hava Levy of Kiryat Shmona was the only woman to undergo a caesarian delivery. "I felt immediately that the doctor was tense and I could see he was pale. I could see immediately that he was one of those who wasn't eating," she said.

She and other women insisted, however, that their treatment had been excellent, even "exemplary." "It was hard for me to see the doctors so pale. I've been lying here with complications for seven weeks, but the strike has not affected me," Zviya Alter of Yesod Hama'ala said, after giving birth to a healthy pair of twin boys.

She cannot hide her concern that the strike is reducing the doctors' efficiency.

Dr. Pinhas Harris, the hospital director, said that last week no very severely ill patients were admitted and the hospital staff could give all patients excellent care.

Fined for flag-waving

HAIFA (Itim) — The local magistrate yesterday fined a kindergarten teacher from Umm el-Fajm IS40,000 and gave her a four month suspended jail sentence after convicting her of waving a Palestinian flag. Atidat Albariye, 23, embroidered the flag on a piece of white cloth and waved it in her private kindergarten.

Histadrut threatens court move on Arab pension funds

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — The Histadrut yesterday threatened to go to court to gain control over the pension funds and other social benefits of West Bank and Gaza Strip Arabs working in Israel.

At present, the government is holding the money. A government official said yesterday that a Histadrut success would give its pension fund alone more than IS20 million a year.

Addressing a press conference here, Histadrut central committee member Gideon Ben-Yisrael said that unless the government accedes to the labour federation's demand to hand over control of the funds, "we will have no alternative but to file a legal suit."

Under present regulations, employers must pay the employment service the wages and social benefits for their workers who live in the administered territories. The government deducts taxes and social benefits and holds the rest until the worker becomes eligible for leave, pension or other payments.

Employment service officials maintained yesterday they have been doing a fine job handling these payments — and there is no reason to hand the money over to the Histadrut.

The service's spokesman Zalman Hen said his office pays monthly salaries to 50,000 Arabs.

Hen maintained there was no reason to connect protection of the workers rights — the Histadrut's turf — with handling their social benefits.

Woman threatens leap to death over aid denial

TEL AVIV (Itim) — A young mother, distraught over her treatment at a local social welfare office, yesterday climbed out on a third floor balcony and threatened to jump unless she received a solution to her housing problem. She was saved after a drama several hours long, when her own mother grabbed her arm and kept her from carrying out her threat.

The woman, a 21-year-old divorcee who is the mother of a four-year-old daughter, climbed over the office porch railing after she was refused housing assistance. She held onto the railing with one arm, dangling over the street, as she chain-smoked cigarettes with her other hand.

Hundreds of curious onlookers gathered below, at times impeding efforts by police, Magen David Adom and fire department rescuers to prepare for her possible leap. The would-be rescuers inflated mattresses and spread nets under the balcony.

In the meantime, police brought the woman's mother to speak with her from the balcony. When her daughter refused to climb back onto

the porch, she suddenly grabbed her arm and, with the help of a policeman, pulled her to safety. The elder woman then collapsed and was treated for shock, while her daughter was taken into police custody.

Israel shipyards may build \$6m. tug boats

HAIFA — The Ports Authority is willing to order two tug boats it needs for its harbours from the Israel shipyards in Haifa, provided the price is commercially competitive, authority general manager, Yitzhak Rahav, said last night.

Rahav was speaking in response to a demand from the Labour Council that the boat order, worth some \$6 million, be placed with the yard. The management of the yard, which is currently very short of work, is agreeable to building the tugs — provided the government subsidises the operation.

The government has been subsidising the yard to the tune of \$5m. annually for the past two years, to pay the largely idle workforce, so it is thought favourable consideration will be given to subsidising work rather than unemployment.

PRIZES — The Education Ministry awarded two prizes to students in schools belonging to the American Mizrahi Women chain for papers in public relations and art history.

Beit Sturman Museum

will be open in July from 8 a.m. till 2 p.m. Group visits require prior coordination by phone, Tel. 065-81605.

Truckers warn of strike over competition

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV — If truckers' demands to renew the truck fleet and to stop wildcat competition for jobs are not fulfilled, truck drivers will take their trucks off the road completely or block major thoroughfares in protest, Truckers Council Secretary Zvi Carmi said yesterday.

Carmi said thousands of heavy trucks travelling on the country's roads are old, improperly maintained and unsafe to drive in. They endanger not only their drivers and the cars around them, but Israel Defence Forces troops as well, since the IDF mobilizes them in time of need, Carmi said.

Speaking to transport writers, Carmi said more than 55 per cent of the 6,000 trucks whose owners belong to the union are more than nine years old. He demanded government support for gradually renewing the trucks as well as subsidized credit for those who want to buy new ones.

Some 5,000 trucks, many of them new, from the Gaza Strip and West Bank are being employed by the Public Works Department, the Jewish National Fund and others, thus depriving Jewish truckers of work, Carmi complained. He said the Arab drivers are cheaper to hire, they do not pay income tax, and do not have to comply with regulations imposed on the Jewish drivers, who also have to perform reserve duty.

To solve this problem, Carmi said, all truckers should be supervised by the Transport Ministry and work under the same conditions as the members of the Truckers Council.

Beduin shepherd finds man's body in desert

A Beduin shepherd during the weekend found a man's corpse in a canyon near Ein Fashkha by the Dead Sea. Police, assisted by a helicopter, succeeded in extricating the body yesterday.

An Itim reporter in Jerusalem said the body is probably that of the Italian priest, Leonardo Lauchino, 58, who disappeared after going on a hike in the desert. Police suspect he fell off a cliff. (Itim)

Census data collected on 3.8 million people

Jerusalem Post Staff

Over 900,000 completed census questionnaires have already been collected, representing data on about 3.8 million residents, or 85 per cent of the population, according to a statement issued yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

Most of the remaining time for the census — which is scheduled to end during the first week of July — is to be devoted to return visits by census takers to homes which were closed during their previous visits.

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Sale of unfinished bus station halted

By CAROL COOK

TEL AVIV — Negotiations for the purchase of Tel Aviv's unfinished central bus station came to a halt yesterday when investors in the station's commercial space appealed to the Supreme Court to prevent its acquisition by Solel Boneh.

Former deputy finance minister Yehezkel Flumin, who is in charge of liquidating the Levinsky Square Company, the terminal's original contractor, said the whole process would be frozen until the court hands down its verdict.

Solel Boneh, the Histadrut building giant, made a bid to purchase the uncompleted structure last Friday. Its offer was 25 per cent higher than the best previous bid, of \$15 million, by the Hafzibah Contracting Company of Jerusalem.

As soon as Solel Boneh submitted its bid to the Tel Aviv District Court, a group of investors who had purchased commercial space moved to stop the sale. They apparently feared that the Histadrut firm would not go through with plans to finish the terminal, but would use it for other purposes.

Once billed as "the largest terminal in the world," the project was begun in the 1960s by Tel Aviv contractor Arie Piltz — who had a 50 per cent interest in Levinsky Square — the Egged bus cooperative (35 per cent) and Solel Boneh (15 per cent).

About half of the station's commercial space had been sold when plans bogged down in 1975 over compensation to home owners living on the site.

In 1976, the government appointed a ministerial committee that decided to liquidate the Levinsky company and appoint receivers. Flumin has estimated it will take \$20m. to complete the terminal. Other estimates range from \$50m. to \$80m.

Eitan says Arabs want to destroy Israel

SHAVEI ZION (Itim) — "The Arabs don't want peace with us, their sole aim is to destroy us," former IDF chief of staff Rav-Aluf (Res.) Rafael Eitan said at a B'nai B'rith convention here.

Eitan said that the argument about the future of the territories within Israel must cease as must all disputes over the country's borders.

At the convention, Eitan asked the participants to help raise IS10-0,000 for the Gilam educational institution near Kiryat Ata. On the spot, the B'nai B'rith chapter heads raised some IS300,000.



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Walesa vows to fight on

WARSAW (Reuters). — Lech Walesa said yesterday he would not give up his struggle for union rights and called on the authorities to look again at agreements which almost three years ago gave birth to the banned Solidarity union.

Dismissing speculation since his meeting with the pope last Thursday that he would relinquish his role as a labour leader, he said in an interview in Gdansk: "I have to lead. I have to achieve what we planned (in August, 1980)."

He said the next important thing awaiting the Polish people is the anniversary of the August events. "August will answer a lot of our questions...in August the people should ask or force those who signed those agreements to sit down once again and check them over," he said.

He added he would only step down "if there were somebody else to take over the problems. This work is not so pleasant, but I will not quit like a rat. I will not run away."

Walesa was speaking to the American television network, ABC, and the British television news company, ITN. He was responding to a

controversial editorial in the semi-official Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, which wrote him off as a force in Poland today.

Pope John Paul, making an appearance yesterday in the Vatican's St. Peter's Square, made no reference to his Polish trip apart from thanking pilgrims for their prayers during the pilgrimage.

Walesa, after the television interview, attended a packed service at St. Brigid's Church near the Lenin Shipyard, where Solidarity was born. Many members of the congregation lined the street outside to see him.

Despite the communist government's policy of belittling Walesa's importance since he emerged from internment last November, there have been many signs of his continued immense popular support during the pope's visit.

One of the last images that confronted the pope before he left was the chanting of "Lech Walesa" from thousands gathered on hills round Krakow airport as he was bid farewell by Head of State Henryk Jablonski and assembled government ministers.

Challenger brake broken on landing

EDWARDS AIR FORCE BASE, California (Reuters). — A wheel brake was broken on the space shuttle Challenger, possibly causing some wheel dragging, when the craft landed here on Saturday after its six-day mission, a space official said yesterday.

Ground staff said pieces of one of the four brakes aboard the spacecraft were found after the Challenger landed but it appeared

they were dislodged when the shuttle was on the ground.

Challenger's crew, which included America's first woman astronaut, Sally Ride, reported no feeling of wheel drag during the landing.

The space shuttle Columbia also had trouble with a brake dragging when it made a brake test during a landing last November.

Hundreds die as floods sweep India

NEW DELHI (Reuters). — At least 700 villagers are now feared to have died and thousands were still marooned yesterday in heavy floods which swept across part of the West Indian state of Gujarat.

It was the second major natural disaster to hit the state within eight months. A cyclone killed more than 500 people in coastal districts last November and officials said the death toll this time could be higher.

Gujarat Home Minister Prabodh Rawal said at least 408 bodies had been recovered so far and another 350 people were missing, feared dead.

Air force helicopters dropped relief supplies yesterday to thousands of villagers marooned by the flood waters. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi announced she would fly over affected areas on an inspection tour today.

The Press Trust of India (PTI) news agency reported from the worst-hit Junagadh district that waves of water had left a trail of death and devastation.

Corpses were left dangling in trees as the waters subsided. At the height of the deluge water had risen as high as five metres, the agency said.

In Wanthali, a town of some 20,000 people, an official said an entire 14-member family had been swept away in the swirling floodwaters. Only eight bodies including those of the father and mother had been recovered.

U.S. demands Soviet answer to nuclear plan

BANGKOK, Thailand (AP). — The administration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan is demanding a "responsible answer" from the Soviet Union to its latest proposal on limiting nuclear weapons in Europe, according to U.S. officials.

Refusing to take rejection of the proposal as final, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said yesterday, "it is up to the Soviet Union to respond to that, and not simply say we reject it."

Shultz commented at a news conference in Manila on reports that the Soviets had rejected an American proposal for equal levels of warheads, ranging from zero to 450.

Without discussing the details of the Geneva negotiations, Shultz said the U.S. had taken "reasonable positions and a good give-and-take position."

The new U.S. proposal was presented by U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze after the current round of talks began on May 17. It is considered more flexible than Reagan's initial "zero-option" plan.

Meanwhile *The Boston Globe* yesterday reported what was described as the first sign of Soviet

flexibility in the Start Arms Control Talks. The Soviet Union has dropped a proposed ban on new submarine-launched ballistic missiles, according to the newspaper's early editions yesterday.

In a dispatch from Washington, the newspaper also said the Soviets appeared to be ready to move away from a proposal to ban long-range cruise missiles.

Attributing its information to unidentified administration officials, the newspaper said U.S. negotiators planned to put a draft treaty on the bargaining table either this week or next.

Edward Rowley, the chief U.S. negotiator at the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks in Geneva, secretly conferred with Secretary of State Shultz and Anatoli Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S., according to the newspaper account. Dobrynin was the "backchannel" through which most key issues in the 1972 SALT I treaty were thrashed out.

Previously, Soviet negotiators were said to have sought bans on cruise missiles with ranges of more than 579 kilometres and submarine-

launched ballistic missiles not currently deployed or being tested.

In London, Soviet military force negotiators have proposed a breakthrough in a troop reduction proposal, for the first time agreeing to allow on-site inspection by the West, Britain's Press Association news agency reported yesterday.

Previously the Soviet Union has refused to consider inspection as a way of verifying compliance with troop reduction agreements.

But PA's defence correspondent, Robert Hutchinson, reported that North Atlantic Treaty Organization officials called the proposal "less than satisfactory" because it imposes an imbalanced withdrawal of troops and artillery.

Quoting NATO sources who declined to be named, Hutchinson said the treaty proposed by the Warsaw pact at the Mutual Balance Force Reduction Talks in Vienna would require complete withdrawal of U.S. troops and artillery based in Europe.

But it would require Soviet troops in Eastern bloc countries to move only one-tenth of the way back to the Soviet border, sources said.

Unenthusiastic Italians go to the polls, turnout lower

ROME (AP). — Tens of thousands of Italians ignored pleas to show up at the polls and went to the beach as record temperatures hit Italy on the first day of general elections yesterday.

Lines formed at the toll booths on the highways instead of at the polling points, while leading political figures punctuated cast their ballots amid swarms of cameramen.

Christian Democrat Premier Amintore Fanfani, whose party is certain to beat both Communist and socialist challengers and retain the leading role in Italian politics, emerged smiling from a polling booth in Rome.

"It is hoped that the Italian people will express its own free will," he told reporters. Putting one finger over his lips, he declined to predict the outcome of the vote.

Early reports indicated the turnout was slightly lower than the last elections in 1979. The Interior Ministry said 58.8 per cent of Italy's 44 million eligible voters had cast their ballot by 11 a.m. compared with 66.8 per cent at the same time in the last election.

Election officials said a recovery in the turnout was expected before the closing of the polls at 2 p.m. today.

Recent polls have said this year's election would be severely affected by record absenteeism because many voters think the election will change nothing.

The five-week, lacklustre campaign has been ignored by many Italians because it concentrated mainly on complicated institutional questions and policies to deal with the nation's economic malaise.

"Lots of people preferred to go to the beach," but they'll come back tonight and vote before the closing of the polls," a Roman voter said.

Temperatures in Rome reached the season's peak of 30C. In the northern region of Trieste and Venice, thousands of Italian families packed picnic baskets and headed to the closest beach on the hottest day of the year.

The election was marred by the accidental shooting death of a 19-year-old soldier at a polling booth outside Rome.

'Ripper' hunt chief hit for telling his story

LONDON (AP). — The police chief who led the hunt for the mass murderer known as the "Yorkshire Ripper," launched his memoirs of the case in a newspaper yesterday, generating more protests from victims' families and from the killer's wife.

The series by retired West Yorkshire chief constable Ronald Gregory, is being published by *The Mail on Sunday*.

Among the protesters are Sonia Sutcliffe, wife of truck driver Peter Sutcliffe who was convicted of the crimes; Doreen Hill, whose 20-year-old daughter Jacqueline was the killer's 13th and last victim, and the family of his youngest victim, 16-year-old Jayne McDonald.

Sutcliffe was given life imprisonment in May, 1981, for 13 murders of women and seven more attempted murders.

Mrs. Hill disclosed that the Home Office, in charge of British police and prisons, has joined in the controversy sparked by media reports that Gregory is receiving between £40,000 (£28 million) and £50,000 (£33.6m.) for his account of the manhunt.

An unidentified civil servant at the Home Office, in a letter to Hill reportedly backed by Home Secretary Leon Brittan, expressed official disapproval of Gregory's memoirs.

Anti-U.S. ending to Prague peace meet

PRAGUE (AP). — A Communist-backed international peace assembly ended here yesterday with condemnations of the U.S. role as chief culprit in the arms race and American plans to station 572 missiles in western Europe.

During the six-day congress, Czechoslovak police arrested at least six Czech youth demonstrating for freedom, and later roughed up foreign reporters covering an unofficial meeting between western delegates and members of the Charter-77 human rights movement on the outskirts of Prague.

The Charter-77 members were barred from attending the assembly.

The "World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War" was sponsored by the Communist-dominated World Peace Council and organized and financed by the Czech government.

Summarizing statements made by chairmen of eleven dialogue and group meetings, the Czech state-run CTK News Agency said many participants in one such panel "stressed the responsibility of the Reagan administration for the present stage of the arms buildup."

Sports

Big mouth

WIMBLEDON (AP). — John McEnroe was fined \$500 yesterday for an "audible obscenity" and had one more week to make his peace with tennis officials and regain the Wimbledon title.

The incident came at the end of a men's doubles match on Saturday night. McEnroe and his partner Peter Fleming, trying to win the doubles title for the third time in five years, had just beaten Bud Cox and Jakob Hlasek.

During the match McEnroe had succeeded in getting the net judge changed following disputed calls. As the players left the court he said something to the crowd.

The fine took McEnroe's total to \$6,250 in a year. If he goes above \$7,500, he is automatically suspended, subject to appeal.

"I want tennis to be more fun," McEnroe said as he skrimished with Wimbledon officials.

"Jimmy Connors says he gets fun from his tennis. I'm sure he's right and I want to do the same. I'm tired of all these arguments with court officials."

As the tournament headed into its second week, other players were divided over officials' treatment of McEnroe. Some think the officials punish him too much because he has a bad temper. Others say he gets away with murder because he is a top rank player.

Meanwhile Chris Evert Lloyd, eliminated from the singles by Kathy Jordan after being outplayed by a rising star, said she had nearly bludgeoned Evert and said she hoped to play in the doubles on Monday.

"I've been sleeping and not going out at all," Lloyd said. "I want to be healthy and ready for my matches and staying in and eating food for two days. Hopefully I will be back to normal in another 24 hours."

She is partnering Billie Jean King in the women's doubles and her brother John Evert is the number one men's singles player.

Yesterday was a rest day. The fourth round in the men's and women's singles — eight matches in each — are due to be played today.

Juniors at Wimbledon

TEL AVIV. — Russell Myers, Scott Davis, and Rudi Srenhoff are representing Israel in the 1983 Wimbledon Junior Championships beginning today. For all three players, this will mark their debut at Wimbledon, one of five "Super-Saturday" events on the International Junior World Ranking Circuit for players under 19.

Strong man

LOS ANGELES (AP). — Udo Beyer of East Germany heaved a shot put 22.22m. on Saturday to break his own previous world record during a dual meet between East Germany and the United States, the world's strongest track and field countries. Beyer's previous mark of 22.15m. was set on July 6, 1978, at Göteborg, Sweden.

Despite Beyer's performance, the U.S. held an overall 108-100 lead, helped by American records by women's high jumper Louise Ritter and the women's 400-metre relay team.

Ritter took the high jump at 1.90m. The U.S. 400 relay team of Alice Brown, Diane Williams, Chandra Chennambhotla and Evelyn Ashford clocked 41.63 seconds. Mary Decker captured the 1,500m. in 3:59.43, the fastest time ever by an American and a half-second off the U.S. record set by Zola Budd, Southampton, in 1980.

Edwin Moses won the 400 m. hurdles, his 76th consecutive victory in the event. East Germany's Marlies Göhr, the world record holder in the women's 100-metre dash, led all the way in winning the event in 11.29 seconds but she was running late a headwind of 2.7 metres per second. In winning, the best score of the world's top sprinters, including American record holder Evelyn Ashford and East Germany's Marlies Göhr.

Ovett crashes

EDINBURGH, Reuter. — Olympic 800 metres champion Steve Ovett crashed to defeat in the 1,000 metres at Britain's first permit meeting yesterday — less than 48 hours after his rival and fellow-Briton Sebastian Coe lost over 1,500 metres in Paris.

Ovett's bid for victory ended abruptly less than 300 metres into the race when he was barged out of the pack and accidentally spiked as a faller caused chaos among the field.

There was no misfortune for American Sydney Maree, who soared to victory in the mile in a time of three minutes 51.48 seconds, the fastest in the world this year.

Baseball results

American League Friday's Games
Texas 6-4; Oakland 5-2; Detroit 9, Baltimore 0; Boston 5, New York 4; Milwaukee 6, Cleveland 2; Minnesota 5, Chicago 1; Kansas City 11, California 3; Toronto 4, Seattle 2.

Saturday's Games
New York 4, Boston 1; Detroit 9, Baltimore 3; Milwaukee 7, Cleveland 2; Chicago 8, Minnesota 3; California 9, Kansas City 2; Texas 8, Oakland 3; Seattle 5, Toronto 2.

National League

Friday's Games
Montreal 4, Chicago 3; Atlanta 3-10, Cincinnati 0-5; Philadelphia 6, New York 3; St. Louis 2, St. Paul 2; Los Angeles 7, Houston 2; San Francisco 5, San Diego 0.

Saturday's Games

Pittsburgh 10, St. Louis 3; Philadelphia 4, New York 2; San Diego 3, San Francisco 2; Atlanta 6, Cincinnati 2; Chicago 2, Montreal 1, 12 innings; Los Angeles 2, Houston 1, 11 innings.

Firecrackers

NEW DELHI (AP). — Firecrackers exploded in the streets of many cities in India yesterday to celebrate the Indian cricket team's victory in the Prudential World Cup.

In a congratulatory message to the team's captain Kapil Dev, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared: "My slogan is: 'India can do it.' Thank you for living up to it."

(Advertising Section)

THE INSIDE TRACK
A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem

FREELY CONVERTIBLE HIGH INTEREST FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNTS.

Bank Leumi, Israel's first and largest bank, is now offering even better services for tourists: non-residents, temporary residents, and new immigrants at Bank Leumi's Jerusalem Tourist Centre Branch, 47 Jaffa Rd. Open a Time Deposit account in any foreign currency, receive maximum interest (tax free in Israel), bank by mail and withdraw at your convenience. Services also available at Bank Leumi's Tourist Service Branches in Jerusalem at King David, Plaza, Ramada-Shalom, Diplomat and Sheraton hotels. The Tourist Centre, in addition to operating Free Foreign Currency Time Deposit Accounts (confidentiality assured) exchanges foreign currency, redeems States of Israel Bonds, handles checking and securities accounts, property and business deals, withdrawals by mail or telex and provides many other facilities that you expect from one of the world's top banks. Our English speaking multi-lingual tellers are at your service also in our Tel Aviv Tourist Centre, 130 Ben Yehuda Street, Tel. (03) 229231 and at Tel Aviv's major hotels along the sea front. Why not drop in for details: BANK LEUMI, JERUSALEM TOURIST CENTRE, 47 JAFFA ROAD, P.O.B. 2090. Tel. 227471/2/3/4.

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HAPPY BIRTHDAY, HA'ADAMA

Seven years old and still the capital's leading health store, HA'ADAMA, winner of Israel's Selected Products and Business Award 1983 has the largest selection of health and nature products in town. Just in... Fresh Jericho Papaya from Dr. Rose Bilbool, health breads, Hain oils and salad dressings, natural cosmetics, dried nuts, herbs and spices, mung, alfalfa and fenugreek for sprouting, wholewheat flour, bran and wheat germ (bulk purchased — cheaper for you) apple cider, vinegar, tiger nuts (chufas) and hundreds of more great natural foods. HA'ADAMA, 4 BEZALEL ST., (opposite Art Academy) Tel. 248609. Open 7 a.m. - 6 p.m.

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For planting on your balcony or in the garden. Basil, Oregano, Marjoram, Melissa, three types of Mint and more. At HA'MASHTELA the nursery of Yona and Dido assisted by Yousuf late of Ben Gad nursery. They've hundreds of new annual seedlings at only IS5 each — Marigolds, Petunias, Salvia etc. Dozens of different flowering plants and ferns — including Fuschias and Jasmine. Every type of garden and house plants and Bonzai bushes, trees, all types of fertilisers, pots, window-boxes and plenty of FREE ADVICE. HA'MASHTELA, 17 BEITAR TALPIOT (Bus 7) Open 7-1.30: 4-6, Friday 7-2.

DRIVE CAREFULLY

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An hour in MASKIT's lovely store is a must for every visitor to Jerusalem. They've hundreds of delightful items, glassware by Leno and Riva Sivan, ceramics by Calderon, Adi, Sari and others; silver plated figurines by Studio Amyr; handmade carpets and wall-hangings by famous Israeli artist (manufactured exclusively by Maskit — hand-knotted Persian style); printed cotton by the metre (exclusive designs); MASKIT's collection of summer '83 cotton dresses, skirts and blouses; children's fashions by top designers; embroidered day, cocktail and evening dresses; fashionable accessories; plus an exciting range of Israeli handicrafts. In the Maskit Gallery, watercolours by Helen Bar Lev, "Scenes from Ethiopia Street." Plus of course BEIT MASKIT's lovely garden cafe. MASKIT, 12 REHOV HARAV KOOK, off Zion Square. Sun.-Thur. 8.30 a.m.-7 p.m. Friday 8.30 a.m.-2 p.m. Tel. 02-227941.

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Japanese ruling party gains in Upper House

TOKYO (AP). — The ruling Liberal Democratic Party forged an early lead and was expected to increase its majority in the upper house of Japan's parliament as ballot counting continued last night in elections for half the chamber's 252 seats.

As of 13:45 GMT, almost five hours after the day of voting ended, the LDP had confirmed wins for 44 seats, while the top opposition Japan Socialist Party had captured 12 and two smaller, centrist parties one each, according to the Japan Broadcasting Corporation.

Most of the early returns were from smaller, rural prefectures where the LDP, a conservative, pro-American party headed by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, is the strongest. Winners of most of the 126 seats at stake were expected to be known by 03:00 GMT today, with the LDP, Japan's ruling party

the past 28 years, picked to increase its pre-election strength.

Rain in some parts of the country and a paucity of major issues kept millions away from the polls. At 08:30 GMT, only 51.78 per cent of 84 million eligible voters had cast ballots, the Home Affairs Ministry said.

The lowest turnout ever for House of Councillors elections was 58.7 per cent in 1959. Upper house members serve six-year terms.

Nakasone's government is not directly affected by the vote since the LDP holds a majority in the more important lower house, or House of Representatives. The election has been billed, however, as a first electoral test of Nakasone's policies, particularly his backing of increased U.S.-Japan security ties and his efforts to slash government spending.

5 killed in French crash as bus driver dozes off

AVALLON, France (AP). — Five British tourists were killed and 22 others injured early yesterday when a bus carrying them back from Spain crashed after the driver fell asleep on his way to an airport north of Paris, police said.

Officials said three of the injured were in serious condition. A busload of about 40 school

children and a car were also involved in the accident, but the occupants of the second two vehicles apparently escaped serious injury.

Police said the first bus was carrying the tourists back from a holiday in Spain when the driver dozed off momentarily. The bus overturned and was struck from behind by the other two vehicles.

Israel Lands Administration Jerusalem District							
Offer for Lease of Plots for Construction of 40 Housing Units in Gimmel Quarter — East Neve Shalom Zim Tender No. JM/83/28							
The Israel Lands Administration requests bids for the lease of plots for the construction of living quarters. Area details and construction potential at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:							
Municipal building plan	Parcels	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Approx. floor area (sq.m.)	Storeys	Infrastructure load (kg/sq.m.)	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
MI/320	1-4	14,158	6,368	2	33,528,500	28,636,880	1,400,000
* Infrastructure load sum is linked to the April 1983 building input index, at 10840.4 points, to be paid separately to the towns concerned, according to the usual town credit conditions.							
Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Jerusalem district office, 34 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, 12th floor, Tel. 224721, and at the Airm Co. office, 189 Rehov Yafa, during regular working hours.							
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on July 20, 1983.							
Bids not found in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.							
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.							

Israel Lands Administration
Haifa District

Offer for Lease of Plot for Total Construction
on Rehov Abas, Haifa
Tender No. H/83/28

The Israel Lands Administration requests bids for the lease of a total construction plot in Ashdod, Yod Aleph Quarter. Area details and construction potential at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Storeys	Total gross building area in 3 housing units	Minimum price (I\$)	Deposit (I\$)
10814	43	693	3	662	6,302.896	315.000

In accordance with municipal building plan, gross construction area = 726 sq.m.
Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Haifa district office, 13 Rehov Ha'atzmaut, Tel. 04-8609551 during regular working hours.

Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on July 20, 1983.
Bids not found in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.
The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.

Test Of Faith



The Poles Are Buoyed, but What's Next?

By JOHN KIFNER

ACROSS the length and breadth of Poland last week, pictures of Pope John Paul II and the Virgin Mary, usually in the image of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, a symbol of church and nation, were taped to the front windows of almost every house and apartment block in the land. The scene was most striking in the countryside at night, when every village of stone houses was ablaze with tiny decorative lights that had been placed around the portraits.

The displays were a measure of the excitement evoked by the Pope's second return to his homeland. But the atmosphere was strikingly different from the outburst of joy that greeted him in 1979. Since then, the nation's hopes had been briefly raised in the heady era of Solidarity and then crushed when martial law was imposed. This time the crowds were somber, serious.

"He has given us the strength to go on," said a factory worker at the edge of the crowd during the Pope's stop in the mill town of Nowa Huta.

The forbidden banners of the outlawed Solidarity union blossomed among the crowds. At every stop the Pope invoked the images of the powerful identification of the Roman Catholic Church with Polish nationalism — and by extension with anti-Russian, anti-Communist sentiment. The whole country watched on television as he sternly lectured the trembling national leader, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, telling him the Government should honor the agreements it had signed with Solidarity strikers at the Gdansk shipyards. By the end of his visit, John Paul was openly expressing his support for the banned union, insisting that "this right is given by the Creator who made man a social animal."

The authorities contended that foreign journalists

were distorting their reporting, exaggerating the political aspects. A Vatican spokesman echoed this complaint.

But the political message was unmistakable. On the day of his departure the Pope had a final sermon about the natural rights of labor unions, an invocation of the protection of the Black Madonna and the reassurance that he was praying "continuously that good may triumph over evil on this Polish soil." Many of those watching could only wonder what the visit would mean for Poland's sad and troubled people. "He brought us eight bright days and a couple more to savor the memories," said a middle-aged woman as the Pope boarded his plane for Rome. "But what then?"

Those who dislike the Government, which is to say practically the entire country, were buoyed by the visit. But given the overwhelming security forces the authorities are able to put on the streets, it was difficult to see how this renewed spirit could be translated into political action. Many Poles expected a tough crackdown if there was any attempt to defy the Government. But officials held out hopes that if all remained quiet, martial law might be lifted on July 22, the official national day.

The overall effect seemed certain to make it more difficult for the Communists to rule Poland. Even if any possible popular revolt seemed doomed, one result of the trip could be an intensified intraparty struggle, with General Jaruzelski undercut by hard-liners backed by Moscow in fear that the contagion could spread to other Eastern European countries. This would be a welcome thing, said.

The Government's most critical error in agreeing to the visit was in thus allowing vast crowds to assemble once again — under the protection of Pope and Government — in what became essentially anti-Communist rallies. The regime's main strength during the martial law period has been its ability to isolate people.

"We did not know we were so many," a young woman said midway through the Pope's visit. "Now we don't feel alone — it compels us to continue what we are doing." agreed a college student who joined the throng who traveled to see the Pope in Czestochowa, Poland's holiest site, and then went on to Cracow, he said, to demonstrate. "It is such a force, a feeling of strength and unity."

The biggest danger for the authorities is that, in a sequel to John Paul's visit in 1979, which was widely cred-

ited with helping to inspire the Solidarity movement, last week's return could transform the political struggle from the relatively unfamiliar issue of free labor unions to the more visceral one of religion.

The Government indicated awareness of this possibility. The day before his departure, the Pope held a mysterious, unscheduled meeting with General Jaruzelski in Wawel Castle, the seat of Polish kings. Later, the Government used the meeting to try to associate itself with the Pope's popularity and the religious fervor surrounding him. Startling reports ran rife at the weekend that the Catholic hierarchy and the Government had cut a deal to scuttle Lech Walesa, Solidarity's somewhat unpredictable founder, and that this is what the Pope told him in their isolated meeting in a Tatra mountain valley. An article in the Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, saying Mr. Walesa had "lost his battle," gave the reports credence. But the article's author, the Rev. Virgilio Levi, resigned yesterday as the paper's deputy director, saying he had no information on what the Pope told Mr. Walesa.

After the many partitions of Poland by foreign powers, Roman Catholicism has become the refuge of nationalism. The long-term lesson for the Government may lie in the history of Nowa Huta, the town built from scratch in the 1950's as the perfect Communist society but which is now the fiercest stronghold of resistance.

For more than 20 years, Nowa Huta battled for a church led by the then Cardinal Karol Wojtyla. Workers, shouting "we want God," fought police for three days when a cross was taken down. The church they finally built is named Queen of Poland, the title bestowed on the Black Madonna by Poles in the belief that she saved the Jasna Gora monastery from siege in 1655.

The strength of Catholic faith here lies in the power of the Marian cult in which people believe as a matter of historical fact that Saint Mary has interceded with God to save the Polish nation. The centerpiece of the big official welcoming billboards on the outskirts of Poznan was the unmistakable outline of the Madonna.

'Legislative Veto' Ruling Power Poised For a Grand Realignment

By JOHN HERBERS

IF the landmark Supreme Court decision overturning the so-called legislative veto had come 15 years ago, the reaction probably would have been mild and predictable. Liberals would have applauded the Court for safeguarding the powers of the Presidency and conservatives would have regretfully observed a little more erosion of the authority of Congress.

As it was, last week's 7-to-2 ruling created an uproar, leaving liberals and conservatives divided and uncertain about which branch would ultimately benefit from the nullification of the Congressional practice of overriding Presidential acts. That is because in recent years Congress had built a constitutionally dubious superstructure that, while helping balance the powers in areas where balance was deemed necessary, encouraged bad government practices in others. Like a tornado dropping out of a Kansas sky, the Court demolished the structure, leaving more than 200 laws in both foreign and domestic affairs in doubt. The White House and Congress must now find new ways of dealing with one another.

The legislative veto originated in 1932 when Congress cut a deal with President Hoover, writing a law delegating to the President the authority to reorganize the Government but retaining the right to override him if it did not like the way he did it. As the nation grew and governing it became more complex, similar provisions were written into other laws.

The device caused little controversy until the Nixon Administration, when Congress set out to rein what it perceived to be executive abuses in domestic and foreign affairs. Over the next few years, Congress reserved the right to force the removal of American troops from hostilities in other countries, to restrict export of American technology, to veto arms sales to certain countries, to force the President to spend money on a specific project, to overturn actions of regulatory commissions and to disapprove certain sales of public lands. Congress used the device liberally to regain much of the authority it had lost.

The Supreme Court had been wanting to have its say in the matter for some time. Finally, the ruling came on such a narrow case that Chief Justice Burger, who wrote the majority decision, felt compelled to depart from procedure and allow the dissent, by Justice Byron R. White, to be read from the bench — a means of saying, "this is a very important case."

The majority said that Congress violated the Constitution when it overrode the decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to allow a Kanyan student,

Jagdish Rai Chandra, who had overstayed his visa, to remain in this country.

From there, the Chief Justice went on to abolish the legislative veto by declaring that the Constitution provided the means for enactment of legislation, passage by both Houses and approval of the President, and in the event of a Presidential veto a two-thirds vote in both houses to override it.

Even Justice White's dissent seemed to reinforce the majority, because it dealt less with the merits than

with the fact that the decision struck down "more laws enacted by Congress than the Court has cumulatively invalidated in its history." Legal scholars said many of them may remain intact except for the veto provision and that would be decided by litigation.

What had disturbed many people about the legislative veto was not so much its use in restraining the Imperial Presidency, as it was called in Mr. Nixon's first term, as the Government practices it inspired. In many ways it was the product of overload. Congress undertook so much in so short a time that it had to resort to questionable shortcuts. In the 1960's and 1970's, it put the national Government in a wide range of domestic areas that had been left to the states or to the private sector, from education, crime, health and safety to rat control.

In the process, a number of authorities say, Congress fell into drafting legislation hurriedly, vaguely and frequently sloppily. In many cases, it would delegate authority to the executive branch but provide little guidance on how the laws should be carried out, and then use the legislative veto, frequently through committee action that never reached the floor, to dictate to the departments and agencies how the laws should be administered.

The Growth of the 'Iron Triangle'

The device contributed to growth of the "iron triangle," through which a special-interest lobby and the staff of a Congressional committee would decide outside the public view how laws were to be administered. In the Ford Administration, some subcommittee chairmen actually dictated how the programs were to be run. In regulatory matters it slowed the already slow process of deciding what the private sector was allowed to do or not to do. And it enhanced the power of special interests to undermine consumer protection. Last year's vote against the Federal Trade Commission's decision to require a listing of defects on used cars is a leading example.

Former Representative Richard Bolling, Democrat of Missouri, and Senator Dale Bumpers, Democrat of Arkansas, among others, warned that the legislative veto was built on shaky constitutional ground. But others, such as Representative Elliott H. Levitas, Democrat of Georgia, kept pushing for its more general use — despite warning signals from legal scholars that a settling was coming.

When it arrived, Congress seemed at first to have lost everything. But it was clear that no one could predict the ultimate outcome. Legislators and scholars agreed that Congress would have to employ new devices to assert its authority or use old ones more. It still has the big weapon, the power to give or withhold revenues, and there was a consensus that in the short run it will seek to keep the Administration on a shorter rein that way.

Some felt that the President, not Congress, may be the ultimate loser. What Congress delegates it has the power to take back. And concerns were expressed by those who believe a strong Presidency is essential in the modern era that Congress might rewrite the laws at issue in a manner that puts the White House under more restrictions than before. This could be especially true if Congress is distrustful of a particular President's foreign and domestic policies, as it now is of the Reagan approach.

Major News

In Summary

For Newsmen, Death on a Honduran Road

Official and public interest in Central America is reflected in the presence there of a large press contingent, sometimes with tragic results. Last week two American newsmen, Dial Torgerson, a Los Angeles Times correspondent, and Richard Cross, a photographer working for U.S. News & World Report, were killed by a rocket-propelled grenade while driving along a road in Honduras just over the border from Nicaragua. Since 1979, four American journalists — among more than 30 local and foreign news people — have died in Central America.

American and Honduran officials said the grenade was launched from the Nicaraguan side but Nicaragua denied its forces had fired on the car. Nicaraguan troops are stationed in the area to repel attacks by anti-Sandinistas from Honduran bases who make frequent use of the road.

On the Salvadoran front, President Reagan last week authorized his special envoy, Richard B. Stone, to see if talks were possible between the Salvadoran Government and guerrilla leaders. But a mutually acceptable framework for such negotiations seemed elusive at best. In agreement with the Reagan Administration, Salvadoran officials say the only topic they will discuss is rebel participation in elections — after they have laid down their arms — as the only possible path to power. Past efforts to elicit such participation failed because the insurgents expressed no confidence in the Government's ability to protect leftist candidates or ensure honest voting. Instead, they have called for broader political

talks, which Salvadoran and American officials have interpreted as an effort to share in power as an intact fighting force.

The White House has been moved to initiate talks largely because of Congressional threats to hold up appropriations for El Salvador. Representative Clarence D. Long, who heads the House subcommittee on foreign aid, said, "What I want to see, and we won't let the money go if it doesn't happen, is some serious movement toward getting the parties together."

The White House, blaming Congress and the press, acknowledged last week that public support for aid to Central America had slipped.

Among others who worry about what they see as overemphasis on military solutions is Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain, who visited Mr. Reagan last week. There was ready agreement in public on the need for peace, democracy and justice in Central America but it seemed to go no further than those generalizations. In Jackson, Miss., the President expressed another concern: "A tidal wave of refugees" into the United States if his policy was blocked. But former Vice President Walter F. Mondale said the policy could lead only to more civil war in El Salvador and inevitably to the sending of American troops. (The chances of deeper involvement in Central America, page 2.)

It Isn't How, It's How Many

The convoluted redistricting map devised by New Jersey Democrats didn't need a Hermann Rorschach to figure out its meaning. One Congressional district snipped corners of seven densely populated

northern counties. Another cut a thin sliver through four counties, almost circling back on itself. A third, dubbed the "flying duck," looped in a meandering arc of more than 100 miles.

But it was the population of the districts, not their odd shape or their beneficiaries, that led the United States Supreme Court to strike down the plan last week. In a 5-4 decision, the Court ruled that the districts varied too much and thus violated the constitutional principle of one man, one vote. Associate Justice William J. Brennan Jr., writing for the majority, said the decision might not require wholesale revisions of the New Jersey political map. It could, however, affect districts in at least 16 other states, including New York, whose districts vary in population at least as much as New Jersey's.

The Democratically controlled Legislature reapportioned New Jersey after the 1980 census caused the state to lose one Congressional seat. Democrats acknowledged then that their artistry had a concrete aim: to bolster the party's election chances. It did. The Democrats' Congressional edge went from 8-7 to 9-5 after last year's elections.

The flaw, five Justices said, was in the Legislature's failure to make a "good faith" effort to create districts of equal size. The difference between the population of the largest and smallest district was 3,674, a departure of less than .7 percent from the statistical average. Democratic leaders insisted they needed some flexibility to prevent black urban neighborhoods from being splintered. But the Court majority said legislative leaders did not demonstrate a link between that legitimate goal and their reapportioning. A fair reapportionment, Justice Brennan said, requires an attempt at "precise mathematical equality" in each district.

Associate Justice Byron R. White, writing the minority opinion, called the population inequities between New Jersey districts "trifling" and labeled the Court's ruling "draconian." The dissenting justices warned that the decision would lead to suits against virtually all of the country's redistricting plans. The majority insisted, however, that plans with unusual districts could be acceptable if a state presented compelling reasons. So the fate of reapportionment in many states may rest on whether they can make a better case for their handiwork than did New Jersey.



Crisis for Arafat and Palestinians

3

P.L.O. leader Yasser Arafat, who was expelled from Syria last week.

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The World

Adelman Gets A Lesson in Letter Writing

Kenneth L. Adelman, President Reagan's new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, got some on-the-job training last week in what not to say to the Russians — and Congress. Mr. Adelman advised the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by letter that the Administration intended to deploy MX missiles unless the Russians were prepared "to forgo their heavy and medium ICBM's." Senate arms-control advocates and four of his predecessors at the agency were quick with their blue pencils. "I think this is a terrible way to negotiate with the Soviet Union — to have public letters clarify our position," said Eugene V. Rostow, who was dismissed by President Reagan in January. Gerard C. Smith, an agency director in the Nixon Administration, found the policy "totally impractical." Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, said it would be "very difficult to require the Soviets to completely change their force structure." Senator William S. Cohen, Republican of Maine, predicted a swift rejection.

The letter made clear, added Senator Paul E. Tsongas, Democrat of Massachusetts, that "MX is not, has never been and will not be a bargaining chip" in negotiations. This touched a sensitive nerve; key Republican and Democratic senators conditioned their votes for MX on the Administration's showing that it was working diligently for arms control. Administration officials hastened to back away from Mr. Adelman's candor. They said the letter was "unfortunate" and "a little less tidy than it should have been." Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam said, "The

Namibia," he said. Angola "can make such steps possible, while remaining true to its principles, by assuring as a separate sovereign act, the withdrawal of Cuban combat forces."

President Reagan, he added, would use his full influence to insure Namibia's independence and a peaceful and independent Angola.

Mr. Eagleburger praised South Africa's courts, which recently opened the way for blacks to establish residence in cities where they have worked for 15 years, or 10 years for one employer. Under pressure from Washington and South African business interests, Pretoria said last week it would not overturn the Appeals Court ruling. But blacks working in the cities still will have to obtain official certification of adequate accommodations before their wives and families can join them.

As for moves in Congress to compel American corporations in South Africa to meet fair employment standards, Mr. Eagleburger repeated the Administration's preference for "voluntary adherence." He criticized efforts to reduce the \$2.6 billion American investment in South Africa, arguing that cuts would diminish Washington's clout.

Chile Gripped by Fear and Doubt

Chile's military leaders alternated between concession and repression last week, seemingly uncertain of how to cope with mounting challenges to their rule.

Large street demonstrations that began several days earlier led last week to the first call for a general strike against the 10-year-old regime. But stiffened censorship and the fear of economic and political reprisals limited the strike mainly to the trucking industry, which handles most of the long-distance transport.

In response, the Government made further arrests, but then followed through on a previous promise by Gen. Augusto Pinochet to allow political exiles to return. Among the 128 were Christian Democratic leader Andrés Bello, and several associates of the late President Salvador Allende. Gossens, who was overthrown by General Pinochet in 1973. (The number of forced exiles range from 10,000, according to the Government, to more than 30,000, according to opposition groups.)

"I hope this announcement contributes to pacification and national unity," Foreign Minister Miguel Alex Schweitzer said. Diplomats seemed more inclined to see the Government's loosening and tightening act as a tardy and confused effort to recover control of the country. The leader of the trucking union, Adolfo Quinteros Soto, was arrested, for example, on the seemingly grave charge of breaking internal security laws, but was released by a magistrate on \$10 bail shortly afterward.

Most copper miners who were fired for strikes at three mines were rehired but 800 were not and nine union leaders, including Rodolfo Seguel, who helped spearhead the national day of protest, were still being held.

Familiar Fears About Qaddafi

Twenty months ago, when the Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi thought he would be presiding over the Organization of African Unity, he abruptly halted attempts to merge Libya with its southern neighbor, Chad. Last week, less than a month after the O.A.U. squelched Colonel Qaddafi's upward striving, his forces were again reported in Chad.

"With the active logistic support of the Libyan Army," the State Department said, followers of former President Goukouni Oueddei marched on Faya Largeau, a strategic oasis astride the main road to Ndjamena, the capital. Yesterday, it fell.

President François Mitterrand said France, which formerly ran Chad as a territory, could not accept foreign intervention. But Chad's Embassy in Paris said Government forces in Faya Largeau had already been surrounded and cut off. "The Libyans have reinforced their army units and Libyan aircraft have made several bombing raids on Government positions," a spokesman said.

Colonel Qaddafi's chief diplomat in Paris said Libya was neutral and denied his country's planes were involved. But he also insisted Mr. Goukouni was still Chad's legal President. Libya, he added, "reserved the right to intervene" if others did.

A Goukouni aide contended that reports of Libyan air support were aimed at justifying "a foreign intervention plot being hatched in Paris and Washington."

President Hissam Habré said Chad had been warning friendly countries for weeks that the attack was coming, but "they didn't believe us." At least 11 factions have been fighting for control since Chad, one of the world's poorest countries, became independent in 1960.

Milt Freudenberg and Henry Gtiner

Reagan Warned of a 'Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan Axis' Last Week

Worst-Case Plans for Central America



U.S. military advisers (standing at rear) with Salvadoran troops in San Vicente, El Salvador, this month.

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

WASHINGTON — What will the Reagan Administration do if the Salvadoran guerrillas seize permanent control of a major provincial city? What if Soviet jet fighters are sent to Nicaragua? How will the United States respond if Nicaraguan forces, lashing out against American-supported insurgents, attack neighboring Honduras?

These are not idle questions, according to senior Administration officials. President Reagan and his top aides have repeatedly said American combat forces will not be sent to Central America. But in private, some of his senior advisers say the policy Mr. Reagan has set for the region may eventually make it hard not to use American military power. Former Vice President Walter F. Mondale, amplifying the fears of Congressional Democrats, said last weekend, "It is inevitable that American troops will be sent to Central America" as a result of "failing" Reagan policies. The President promptly pressed his point. "There is no excuse for not providing those under attack the weapons they need to defend themselves," he said last week. "We cannot permit the Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis to take over Central America."

Contingency plans for direct involvement have been resisted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the fear that blueprints would make it easier for policymakers to trigger intervention. Military leaders say they are willing to send American forces to Central America if they can use enough muscle to get the job done. But they are concerned that a partial commitment could lead to a repeat of the Vietnam experience. Pentagon officials said plans had been developed for American air strikes against Cuba and Nicaragua and the use of American forces to "quarantine" Nicaragua — if those countries were to dramatically escalate their military activities. Most contingency plans, however, are drafted for developments that never occur and these plans, too, cannot be read as a preview of policy. Also, the possibility could not be excluded that word of such plans was being leaked to put Managua and Havana off balance.

When the Reagan Administration first staked out Central America as an East-West battleground in 1981, it stressed the importance of maintaining democratic governments. Worldwide American security interests, although wrapped into the policy, were not singled out until President Reagan spoke to a joint session of Congress in April. "The national security of all the Americas is at stake in Central America," he said. "If we cannot defend ourselves there, we cannot expect to prevail elsewhere. Our credibility would collapse, our alliances would crumble and the safety of our homeland would be put in jeopardy."

These interests, however, are defended by governments and military forces that Administration officials acknowledge may not be up to the task. El Salvador is governed by a volatile coalition of moderate and extreme-right groups held together largely by pressure from Washington, which hopes presidential elections this year will produce a more stable regime. The military, still the prime line of defense against a leftist takeover, has had to struggle to sustain a stalemate with the guerrillas. Senior American military officials consider the Salvadoran military command seriously flawed by corruption, lack of imagination and lethargy so widespread that many officers return home for weekends as though the civil war stopped at dusk on Friday.

Given these weaknesses, some national security officials say that the United States might eventually be forced to increase its involvement, to prevent El Salvador from "falling." Gen. Wallace H. Nutting, the recently retired commander of American forces in Latin America, has advocated lifting the ceiling of 55 military advisers in El Salvador to 300 to 400. Gen. Edward C. Meyer, who retired last week as Army Chief of Staff, said it might be necessary to send in American troops if the Salvadoran elections produced turmoil rather than stability. The White House immediately denied this was under consideration.

Direct American intervention may also become possible in Honduras, some believe. In Washington recently, the Honduran armed forces chief, Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, requested increased military help and said he would not rule

out a request for American forces if Nicaragua attacked his country. Managua recently claimed Honduras had supported guerrilla activities inside Nicaragua with artillery fired from the Honduran side of the border. Last week, the Honduran Army said two American newsmen had been killed in Honduras near the border by a grenade launched from the Nicaraguan side.

Defense officials say war between Nicaragua and Honduras is unlikely, however, given Honduras's superiority in air power. But growing dependence on Honduras to help contain Soviet and Cuban influence has made Washington at least a silent partner with Tegucigalpa in its conflict with Nicaragua. Under the Rio Treaty of 1947, which the United States and Honduras have signed, countries in the hemisphere are pledged to defend each other if one is attacked. Asked last week about the American response if Nicaragua invaded Honduras, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said, "We would take a major outbreak of war there very seriously and beyond that I don't want to make a comment."

Another test often mentioned by officials in private would be the arrival of Soviet combat aircraft in Nicaragua. American intelligence officials have long expected the delivery of MIG jet fighters to Nicaraguan pilots who, they say, received training in Bulgaria and Cuba; intelligence officials have said that Nicaraguan airfields were extended to handle the planes. Arrival of the MIG's would dramatically change the region's balance of power, Administration officials say, and call for a swift and forceful American response, even including a possible air strike to knock out the planes.

The alternative to escalation, of course, is negotiation. Last week President Reagan authorized his special envoy to Central America, Richard B. Stone, to explore the possibility of meeting with Salvadoran guerrilla leaders to discuss ways of getting the insurgents to participate in elections. Mr. Stone has also offered American support — critics say it is lip service — for efforts by Latin American countries to ease regional tensions. But Mr. Stone himself has said the odds are against success for his mission.

Where Iron and Bamboo Curtains Meet

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

URUMQI, China — Two decades of official animosity between China and the Soviet Union have created some strange situations for the minority peoples divided by the border between the two countries in Central Asia. Two frontier points will reopen next month for resumption of local Chinese-Soviet trading. But there are no prospects for reviving normal cross-border traffic, sealed off since the 1960's.

A visit among relatives separated by the border is a major operation that requires official permission and epic round-about journeys to distant crossing points. For example, the large town closest to Kashgar in China's Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region is Osh in Soviet Kirghizia, less than 200 miles away. But Li Diyaning, a Xinjiang official, said that a Chinese Uighur wishing to visit a Soviet relative in Osh would have to fly nearly 10,000 miles — first east to Peking, then west to Moscow and back southwest to Tashkent. Or he could take an equally inconvenient train to a crossing in Manchuria at the opposite end of the country.

A professor at Xinjiang University recently was able to visit a Soviet relative, officials said, and a language specialist in Urumqi had a visit from his mother in the Soviet Union, but such contacts are rare.

After an estimated 30,000 Uighur refugees fled from Xinjiang into Soviet Kazakhstan in the 1960's to escape forced assimilation, China shut the border. It was delineated when the weak Qing dynasty ceded a chunk of Central Asia to czarist Russia in the "unequal" treaties of 1844 and 1881. China has not demanded return of this land, which includes the Soviet city of Alma-Ata, but it does lay claim to territory along Xinjiang's border with Soviet Tadzhikistan.

Trade, notably in Chinese fruit and long-staple cotton and in Soviet glass and coffee, is to be resumed at Korgas and at Turugart, said Elisa Shakir, a deputy commissioner of Kashgar prefecture in western Xinjiang. But no other improvement is visible in Chinese-Soviet relations in Central Asia. The former Soviet consulate in Urumqi has been taken over by a song-and-dance ensemble and the consulate in Kashgar is now a guest house for tourists.

The exchange of mail is slightly easier. Mr. Li said parcels and letters cross but language is also a barrier. The Cyrillic alphabet has been adopted in Soviet Central Asia, while Arabic script is again used in Xinjiang, after nearly two decades of experimentation with Roman letters.

Still, information does get through, suggesting to some Uighurs that living standards are higher on the Soviet side. A man in Urumqi said a relative in Alma-Ata had bought a Zhiguli sedan. It is all but impossible to buy a private car in Xinjiang. Chinese officials stress the advantages on their side — ample markets and relative tolerance for Moslem religious practice.

Urumqi's mayor, Ismail Mahsut, said he knew people with relatives on the Soviet side who are not so well supplied. Chinese Uighurs could easily buy a sheep to slaughter for a wedding, Mr. Mahsut said, "but in the Soviet Union it is more difficult to get these things. People also say that the prices of daily necessities are more stable here and that the prices are comparatively lower."

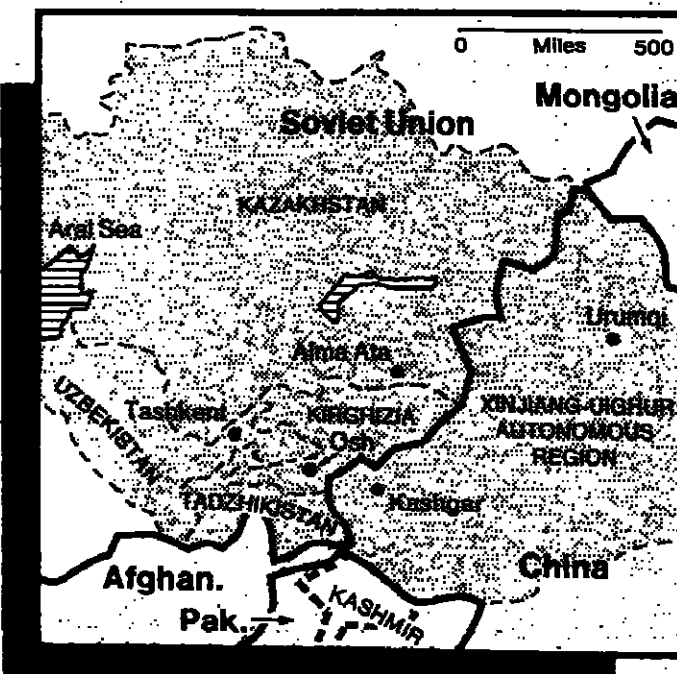
Radio broadcasts in the Uighur and Kazakh lan-

guages float across the snow-crowned peaks of the Tianshan, describing a happy life for ethnic minorities on the Soviet side. They emanate from radio stations such as "Peace and Progress" in Soviet Tashkent and are beamed at the same minorities in China. "I don't think people listen to them. Or very few listen to them," said Bahar Rahim, an Uzbek and director of Xinjiang's Department of Nationalities Affairs.

But the broadcasts are heard more widely than Chinese officials like to admit. Non-Han minorities constitute 60 percent of the population of Xinjiang, an expanse of mountains and deserts more than twice the size of Texas. Besides Uighurs, they include Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Tadzhiks, who have their own national Soviet republics. In last year's census, Xinjiang also had a Russian minority of 2,500 descendants of White Russians who fled the Bolshevik revolution or came to trade. The 1964 census had recorded only 800 ethnic Russians because some Chinese, after considering the political climate, concealed their Russian ancestry, as the law permits. Tamara Mikhailovna Shi, whose mother is Russian (her father is Chinese), teaches Russian language and literature at Xinjiang University. English, Uighur, Kazakh and Chinese are also taught there.

The border has been quiet since 1969, when skirmishes were reported in the wake of larger clashes in the Far East. China maintains up to 250,000 troops in Xinjiang, according to Western estimates, although only the preponderance of senior officers on local airline flights confirms a substantial military presence. Officials in Xinjiang blame the Russians for the absence of a real thaw in relations. "We feel the threat from the Soviet Union," said Mayor Mahsut, pointing to what he said was a heavy buildup of Soviet forces along the border.

"The Soviet Union also broadcasts propaganda and sends across spies from both the Hans and the minorities, but people find them out," the Mayor added. He would not say how many had been caught or when.



Kenneth L. Adelman

letter is not a proposal to the Soviet Union. We have made that clear."

But Mr. Dam said MX "is not a bargaining chip in the sense that we are just deploying it for purposes of negotiation. It is a vital part of our national security." Secretary of State George P. Shultz called MX a "key ingredient" in the triad of land, sea and air-based defenses. (The Central Intelligence Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency reported Moscow is still increasing defense spending by 4 percent a year, double the sluggish Soviet economy's growth rate.)

In the separate talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, a senior Administration official reported that the Soviet Union had rejected what he called new and flexible proposals for an interim agreement on reducing the number of such missiles. Vice President George Bush got a taste of the issue's sensitivity at the outset of a European tour. Hundreds of demonstrators threw bottles and stones at his motorcade during a visit yesterday to Krefeld, West Germany.

Speaking Up On South Africa

For an Administration that has made a policy of not openly criticizing South Africa, a public statement last week was strong and surprising stuff. Under Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger called apartheid morally wrong and said that "by one means or another, South Africa's domestic racial system will be changed." But he cautioned against "the arrogance of rejecting" Pretoria's recent hesitant attempts at constitutional reform — giving political representation to people of mixed race and Indians but not to the overwhelming black majority.

On the stalled talks on independence for South-West Africa or Namibia, he offered new "reciprocal" wording designed to sound unlike the familiar insistence on linkage to Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. "South Africa must leave Angola's southern provinces and it must leave

For Palestinians and Israelis Alike, the Lessons of Beirut Seem Elusive

Assad Banishes Arafat, and Perhaps Some P.L.O. Hopes

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasser Arafat was preparing to board his flight out of Damascus Friday, having just been told by the Syrians that he was no longer welcome in their country, when a lowly Syrian lieutenant colonel reportedly walked up to him, looked him in the eye and spat: "Mr. Arafat, you are persona non grata."

For a man received in capitals around the world as the Palestinian people's head of state it was the final indignity, capping a week of insults and accusations between Mr. Arafat and President Hafez al-Assad of Syria. The P.L.O. chairman took off from Damascus for Tunis, leaving behind the bulk of his supporters and the corner of the world that has been his power base for 13 years, but in a larger sense he was hurtling into an uncertain and probably dangerous future.

The divorce between the Syrian President and the Palestinian leader may have been inevitable. Mr. Assad has always wanted to have the P.L.O. security in his pocket, which is why he brought his army into Lebanon in 1976 in the first place. Only then could he stand before the Arabs and the Americans and say, "If you want a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East, you must deal with me." For the same reasons, Mr. Arafat himself wanted to maintain his independence and his role as exclusive spokesman of the Palestinian people.

For years Mr. Arafat and Mr. Assad kicked one another under the table while keeping up a facade of civility in public. Syria's undisputed support for the rebellion against Mr. Arafat among his el-Fatah guerrillas in Lebanon's Bekaa valley has now ended this charade. In the jungle of Arab politics, it is quite conceivable that these two men will use more than just words against each other in the coming weeks. It is also conceivable they will at some point officially make up, although the level of hostility appears unusually high at the moment.

A Tarnished Silver Lining

In throwing Mr. Arafat out, the Syrians also undermined the credibility of the anti-Arafat rebels led by Col. Saad Musa. Colonel Musa began his rebellion on the basis of grievances against the P.L.O. chairman's leadership. But the revolt has now been so openly facilitated by the Assad Government, in separating Mr. Arafat from his forces in Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon, that the colonel can no longer escape the charge of being a front man for Damascus. It was clear from interviews last week that Colonel Musa was not entirely comfortable with this situation, but matters are now out of his control.

For Mr. Arafat, this is a rather tarnished silver lining to his predicament. The real news is that the P.L.O. is now divided, hamstrung and incapable of either concerted military action or any imaginative diplomatic initiatives. Mr. Arafat, still the titular P.L.O. chairman, will presumably sit in Tunis while the leaders of the seven other P.L.O. factions will remain in Damascus. Communications will be difficult and political coordination, never a specialty of the loose-knit organization, virtually impossible. Mr. Arafat may hold things together for a while by lying low and not making bold moves, but if he does that he risks becoming irrelevant. Yet any major political initiative he undertakes, such as seeking to restore relations with Cairo to counterbalance Syria, could shatter what remains of P.L.O. unity.

Moreover, Mr. Arafat may have gained temporary support and sympathy from the masses, but the fact that an Arab Government has run him out of town represents a serious blow to his international standing over the long term. As usual, Mr. Arafat immediately got on the phone to Saudi King Fahd and asked him to use his supposed financial leverage over Syria to ease the pressure on him. But the gentle King Fahd is considered no match for the Syrian President, who is as smart and ruthless a practitioner of Arab power politics as ever walked the streets of Damascus.

Still, any attempts by Syria to dominate the Palestine Liberation Organization may never be wholly suc-

cessful as long as Mr. Arafat is alive. Mr. Arafat is the P.L.O. The other guerrilla leaders are for the most part relatively unknown figures, who have always lived off the benefits of what Mr. Arafat has built up.

In many minds, Mr. Arafat emerges from all this as a somewhat tragic figure — the man who transformed the Palestinian cause into an international issue, but not a state. After the P.L.O.'s debacle in Lebanon, Mr. Arafat clearly wanted to learn the lessons of the Beirut defeat and adjust policy accordingly. In particular, it seems clear he wanted to join hands with Jordan so as to try to take advantage of the Reagan Middle East peace initiative. But he was ultimately forced to back away from this Jordanian strategy because, as a Middle East historian at Beirut's American University put it, he had "no P.L.O. mandate to learn the lessons of Beirut." This was perhaps largely Mr. Arafat's own fault. He had not had the vision to cultivate a P.L.O. constituency for a compromise solution with Israel; when he really needed it, it wasn't there. But it was also the fault of the other Palestinian leaders who could not see their way to sharing power with King Hussein — even if it meant possibly getting some of their land back — and who seemed determined to repeat the mistakes made by their predecessors for the past 50 years.

"Poor man Arafat," remarked the historian. "No, more importantly, poor Palestinian people."



Palestinian fighter on watch in Tripoli, Lebanon.

Begin, Too, Seems Among the War Weary

By DAVID K. SHIPLER

JERUSALEM — During his six years in office, Prime Minister Menachem Begin has gone through occasional periods of depression and withdrawal, provoking speculation in the Israeli press about his ability to function as the head of government. Such retreats have always been followed by bouts of frenetic activity, most dramatically in 1981, when months of withdrawal were broken by the start of his vigorous campaign for re-election.

Now Mr. Begin is in a similar phase of melancholy. He shuns public appearances, makes only perfunctory statements in Parliament, avoids the exhilarating conflict of political battle. Since the death of his wife, Aliza, in November, he has lost weight, which makes his clothes ill-fitting and gives him a gaunt, vacant look. He sits passively in Parliament as the debate whirs around him.

Yet the Prime Minister has lost none of his political power. No decision is made, no policy adopted, that he opposes. His aides describe him as unhappy, subdued, still suffering from the loss of his wife and the unsatisfactory outcome of the war in Lebanon, but working well on the matters he chooses to address. His Cabinet ministers defer to him, consult him and rarely move without him. But his melancholy has sifted down into the ranks of his Government, creating an odd sense of helplessness in the face of domestic and international issues.

Israel's two most pressing problems at the moment — a doctors' strike that has paralyzed most hos-

pitals and a military deployment in Lebanon that has brought mounting Israeli casualties — have been left to fester for weeks. The doctors' strike over wage demands has been going on since early March, but only last week, after doctors across the country went on a hunger strike and the medical system reached the brink of collapse, did Prime Minister Begin step in and prod his ministers to negotiate intensively. On Friday, Mr. Begin finally decided to go to arbitration if no agreement could be obtained within a few days.

The situation was no better in Lebanon, where the Israeli Army has been mired in a dangerous holding action while the Government waits for Syria to make its intentions clear about a possible troop withdrawal. Although Israeli officials said during last summer's war that they would not give Syria a veto over an Israeli pullout, that is precisely what they have done by making an Israeli departure contingent upon a withdrawal of Syrian and Palestinian troops. The Syrians, in turn, are reported watching with some satisfaction as the anti-war movement in Israel grows, spawning multiple organizations and protests.

Aside from Peace Now, which comprises reserve military officers and others in Israel's liberal mainstream, a group of more radical soldiers called There's a Limit has gathered more than 2,000 signatures of reservists who say they will refuse to go to Lebanon. Sixty-one have been imprisoned so far. An

organization called "Parents Against Silence" has urged that their sons be brought home. Small anti-war groups have been formed by some religious Jews and by some Sephardic Jews, who originate mostly from North African and other Arab countries.

Outside Mr. Begin's house on Balfour Street in Jerusalem, a few protesters maintain a vigil 24 hours a day, keeping a sign with the number of Israeli war dead up to date. Last week it stood at 501. The place has become a forum for debate between soldiers, policemen, pro-Government demonstrators and passers-by. Mr. Begin does not engage the protesters in conversation when he enters and leaves, but some weeks ago demonstrators say, he sent an aide to tell them that it was unseemly for a boy and a girl to spend all night together under the same blanket.

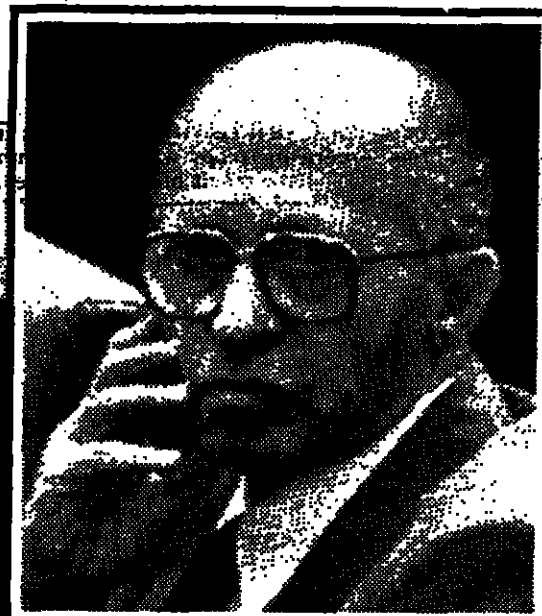
There is little optimism about a Syrian withdrawal. And the only unilateral move the Government is considering for Israel is a partial pullback from the Shuf Mountains to a more defensible security line running approximately along the Awali River, north of Sidon. One obstacle to this is that the United States, with which Israel has more cordial relations at the moment than at practically any time since Mr. Begin took office, is not keen about the idea.

The Reagan Administration has reportedly made clear to the Israelis that any partial withdrawal without "consultation" with the United States and Lebanon would be frowned upon, and Israeli officials in turn have stated their intention to "consult." The Americans are said to be worried that such a withdrawal would be read by Syria as indicating an Israeli willingness to pull out completely, without reciprocal Syrian withdrawal. It might therefore signal the end of efforts to get the Syrians out.

Nevertheless, pressure is mounting in Israel for a partial withdrawal, or a "redeployment," as officials are saying. "What we have said to our American friends, what we have said to our Lebanese friends," Defense Minister Moshe Arens explained last week, "is that the burden of maintaining our positions in Lebanon first and foremost is a burden in human lives — a danger to human lives. It is also an economic burden. This is a burden that should be shared. And the time has come for the Lebanese, for the multinational force to begin to do their part. But we do not want to redeploy or leave areas simply to have the P.L.O. and the Syrians take them over, and, after having fought the battle for the peace of Galilee, see them recover all the territory that they have lost."

In other words, a partial Israeli withdrawal would presumably require United States Marines, as part of a multinational force, to move into the Shuf area in support of whatever Lebanese Army units were sent in to take the Israeli place. According to an American official, the marines would remain, as in the Beirut area now, a presence without any combat or policing responsibilities.

Meanwhile, Mr. Begin's retiring mood coincides with the political realities. He has met privately with members of Parents Against Silence, as well as with striking doctors, so he is not cutting himself off from the questions troubling his country. That he does not rally forth to smite the adversaries with his thundering rhetoric indicates, perhaps, a perception that there is no victory to be won.

The New York Times
Micha Bar-Am/
United Press International

Medical student maintaining a vigil outside residence of Prime Minister Menachem Begin (inset) earlier this month; figure indicates number of Israelis killed in Lebanon.

Voters Cast Ballots Today and Tomorrow if They Can Manage to Stay Awake

In Perpetual Political Standoff, Italy Elects a 44th Government

By HENRY KAMM

ROME — Italians go to the polls today and tomorrow in the latest act of a democracy whose paradoxes baffle political scientists and commentators, as well as much of Italy.

Since the end of World War II, democracy has provided a state of civil liberty new to Italy and second to no other country's. The system has proved its suppleness by putting down the most violent challenge to its existence, posed by terrorist movements of exceptional skill and aggressiveness. It has done so without hobbling general freedom. It has also provided a political framework in which industrialization and mounting productivity have achieved a standard of living that is noteworthy in a country where large areas were underdeveloped when the postwar recovery began.

Yet this democracy is regarded by what must be a majority of Italians with weary cynicism. The party that has dominated it from the beginning, the Christian Democrats, is widely depicted as an association of entrenched clans, murky with corruption and stale in ideas. Many think the party maintains its electoral support — it had 38 percent of the seats in the outgoing Chamber of Deputies — largely by making itself the purveyor of administrative favors that should be the citizen's due.

The Communists, the second largest party with 30 percent of the deputies, enjoy a greater reputation outside

their country than within. Hailed elsewhere in the West for loosening the ties that link all Communist parties to Moscow, they have not been able to capitalize on this fact in domestic politics either as an acceptable partner or as an alternative to Christian Democratic-dominated government.

The standoff between two irreconcilable parties, neither of which can command a majority, leaves four parties, together accounting for 18 percent of the vote in 1978, as the indispensable makers of Government — and the largest among them, the Socialists, as the power broker. The Socialist leader, Bettino Craxi, who commands less than 10 percent of the deputies, has exercised his power to bring down Governments three times within the last year. His victims were the two Cabinets of Giovanni Spadolini, a Republican and the first non-Christian Democratic Prime Minister since 1945, and the outgoing Government of Amintore Fanfani, Prime Minister for the fifth time since the 1850's. The fall of Mr. Fanfani on April 29, for which Mr. Craxi offered no substantive reason other than to declare that his Cabinet had been created only for a limited time and had exhausted its possibilities, forced elections one year earlier than necessary.

The absence of specific issues has made the parties look like card players calling for a new deal after each has decided that his hand contained no more honors, points or trumps. The impression was heightened by the almost audible yawn that the election call elicited from the electorate. It heightened the perception that, as in a card game,

interest was limited mainly to the players.

The lack of issues does not mean that all is well with Italy. Unemployment runs close to 10 percent and inflation more than 16 percent. The deficit in the public sector, fueled by welfare and pension costs in a system sweepingly liberalized in recent years, amounted to 15.6 percent of gross domestic product last year, about four times what it is in most industrialized countries. (In the United States, the 1983 budget deficit is estimated at 8.3 percent of gross national product.) Factory output stands at a five-year low.

The Abstentionist Party

In addition to its economic difficulties, Italy is host to the full range of social problems that beset the industrialized world — youth unemployment, narcotics, organized crime, the unequal status of women, the crisis in education and more. The fact that the Government to emerge from the voting will be the nation's 44th in less than 40 years testifies to the need for institutional reforms to provide greater political stability. The East-West and North-South tensions that divide the world also involve Italy as a member of the Atlantic alliance, a Mediterranean power and one of the nations in which the controversial medium-range American missiles are to be installed, possibly within the year.

All political parties have, of course, offered their analyses of these matters and taken positions. But debate is rare, new ideas are scarce and lack of interest, as

schools close for the summer and vacation plans are upmost in Italian minds, palpable.

Voter apathy has raised the possibility of what some commentators jokingly refer to as the creation of a new party — those who abstain or cast invalid ballots. Voting is compulsory — although no sanctions exist against those who abstain — and participation runs to close to 90 percent in most national elections. But this year polls suggest that abstentions or intentionally spoiled ballots may for the first time become a form of protest against all parties.

The quixotic Radical Party, a coalition of environmental and total-disarmament oriented groups that got 3.4 percent of the vote in 1978, is putting up lists of candidates but is urging its voters to cast blank ballots. The party's eccentric leader, Marco Pannella, then plans to claim all invalid votes for his own group.

The campaign has been as short on personalities as it has on issues. In the absence of new men or women who have impressed by novel plans and approaches, two men noted mainly for hard-driving ambition and skill in fighting have taken center stage. They are Mr. Craxi, 40 years old and openly pushing for the prime ministership from his balance-of-power position, and Ciriaco De Mita, 55, since last year the secretary of the Christian Democrats. To many observers, the voting is only a prelude to the real confrontation between Mr. Craxi and Mr. De Mita in a country in which little else is expected to change. In a standoff, no one would be surprised if the next prime minister were to be Amintore Fanfani VI.

BROADWAY 80

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The Nation

Why Not a Black Candidate for The Presidency?

In a decision that had to be disturbing to any white liberal Democrat who wants to live in the White House one day, a group of black civil rights and political figures last week formally endorsed the notion of a black's seeking the Democratic Party Presidential nomination.

The group decided to wait a few months before settling on a candidate, but the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, who has been doing a passable imitation of a Presidential prospect for some months, sounded ready to make the leap. He said it was "highly likely" that he or some other black would wade into the primary wars.

Many analysts believe a black candidate might attract enough votes to undercut two of the more liberal Democratic contenders, former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and California Senator Alan Cranston. A



The Rev. Jesse Jackson

spokesman for Mr. Cranston guessed that Mr. Jackson, for one, would get "80 to 85 percent of the black vote everywhere he went."

Some prominent blacks were decidedly lukewarm about the coalition's decision, endorsed by only two-thirds of the 20 people present at the meeting. Critics said that a Jackson candidacy in particular would be little more than a protest effort, and thus a vote for him would be wasted. But others argued that a vote for Mr. Jackson, a powerful orator, would not necessarily be cast in vain. "The Democrats have fielded six of the most undramatic, noncharismatic white men that they could find to run for President of the United States," said Joe Madison, a political aide of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "If there had been a Kennedy type running, Jesse would not be getting that amount of publicity."

Beyond the Budget Votes

The House and Senate last week agreed on targets for Federal spending and taxes in 1984, and duly congratulated themselves on grappling with some unpleasant decisions. But many tough long-range issues remain to be tackled. Among them:

• **Entitlements.** The budget resolution deals only glancingly with the increasingly large and costly Government benefit programs. Medicare, for example, will provide \$53 billion in health care benefits for the elderly this year; under current law, the program's costs will rise to \$102 billion by 1988.

The annual report of the hospital insurance trust fund, released last week, said that to avoid bankruptcy by 1980, "either disbursements of the program will have to be reduced by 30 percent or financing will have to be increased by 43 percent." The budget resolution passed Thursday calls for cuts of \$1 billion in Medicare in 1984.

• **Efficiency.** Congress increased the Pentagon's share of the Federal budget by 5 percent after inflation, instead of the 10 percent President Reagan wanted. But 5 percent is still more than \$20 billion, and according to a General Accounting Office report released last week, the military services buy billions of dollars in weapons systems and deploy them without adequate testing, mostly because of testing costs, the press of time and bad management. According to accounting office sources, some Defense Department reports on new weapons systems to military appropriations committees on Capitol Hill have been less than candid.

• **Politics.** The Clinch River nuclear power plant, the center of an energy and environmental controversy for a decade, suffered a major defeat despite the efforts of a chief advocate, Senate Majority Leader

Howard H. Baker Jr., in whose home state of Tennessee the breeder reactor — so called because it would produce more nuclear fuel than it consumes — is located.

In voting \$22.3 billion for energy and water development, the Senate cut off funds for the reactor unless a plan for more private industry financing is approved. Senator Jim Sasser, a Tennessee Democrat, called Clinch River's future "very iffy." But, he added, "This project is like the perils of Pauline. I don't count it out."

Uphill Runner Wins in Denver

Federico Peña's chances seemed bleak last year when he said that he wanted to be Mayor of Denver. At the time, he was a little-known state legislator and Hispanic citizens, presumed to be his power base, amounted to no more than 18 percent of the population.

But in last week's runoff, with help from a coalition of blacks, women and labor groups, he defeated Dale Tooley, a former District Attorney who had twice before run for Mayor. It was a close race — Mr. Peña's winning margin was about 2 percent, or 4,410 out of more than 154,000 votes cast — so the difference might have been a three-day registration drive last month that signed up 5,000 new voters.

Mr. Peña, generally regarded as a moderate-to-liberal Democrat, will be sworn in on July 1, replacing William H. McNichols Jr., the incumbent who was rejected in last month's primary.

In political developments elsewhere last week:

• **William M. Bulger, the president of the Massachusetts State Senate** — who recently closed down the Senate so he could mull over the matter — announced he did not want to be Mayor of Boston after all. Rated a strong contender because, among other things, he already had \$150,000 in campaign funds, Mr. Bulger said simply that he could best serve the city in the Legislature.

Even without Mr. Bulger, the pack of prospective replacements for retiring Mayor Kevin H. White — who announced last month that he wouldn't seek a fifth term this fall — includes 10 candidates.

• **In Chicago, Mayor Harold Washington** lost one in the Illinois Supreme Court. The court refused to overturn a ruling that gave control of the City Council to his political foes. But in another case, this one centering on a 14-year-old dispute over patronage, a Federal judge gave the Mayor authority to replace 900 high-level municipal employees. Most are suspected of being loyal to Alderman Edward Vrdolyak, the Cook County Democratic chairman who leads the dissident Council majority.

• **San Francisco voters** did what voters elsewhere frequently do: they replaced an incumbent member of Congress who died in office with his surviving spouse. Sala Burton beat 10 other candidates and will serve out the remainder of the term of her husband, Democratic Representative Philip Burton, who died in April. Mrs. Burton had already declared that, if elected, she would run again next year.

Louisiana Drops Racial Fractions

Louisiana is a state of many distinctions. It stripped itself of one of its more dubious last week — its so-called black blood law — in repealing 1970 legislation that designates anyone with one thirty-second "Negro blood" as black.

While most states require the designation of race on birth documents, Louisiana had been the one with an operative equation for the determination. The statute was challenged by Susie Guillory Phipps, a white-skinned, black-eyed woman who is the great-great-granddaughter of a black slave and a white planter who sued to have the State Bureau of Vital Records change the racial classification on her birth certificate from black to white.

Though a Tulane University anthropology professor cited research indicating that the average American white person had 5 percent traceable black genes, a state court judge earlier this year upheld her classification.

According to Lee Frazier, a state representative from New Orleans who wrote the law that replaces the 1970 statute, the Legislature was moved to act "to reflect modern thinking." State officials said the 1970 standard was adopted to prevent labeling Creoles of mixed ancestry as black against their will. The new law would allow parents to designate the race of their children as they wish; changes in birth records can be made on "the preponderance of" rather than "overwhelming evidence."

Caroline Rand Herron,
Michael Wright
and Carlyle C. Douglas

Last Week's Congressional Budget Agreement Is Only a Preliminary

Veto Battles Set the Stage for '84



House and Senate negotiators conferring on final details of the budget resolution last week.

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON — As the House of Representatives was about to pass a Federal budget last week, Budget Committee chairman James R. Jones had the floor. "These conference agreements are only the first step," the Oklahoma Democrat said. "Now we have to enforce them."

The point was well taken. Both houses of Congress approved the conference report providing spending of \$449.6 billion, projecting a deficit ranging from \$170 billion to \$179 billion and calling for \$12 billion in new taxes for fiscal year 1984. But the hard part comes now: passing legislation that implements the guidelines the budget lays down.

All along, President Reagan vigorously opposed the compromise between House and Senate plans. Each would have increased military spending less and domestic spending more than he wants to. But he has no veto power over budget resolutions. In the next phase, that of specific taxing and spending measures, that changes, and Mr. Reagan lost no time last week in renewing his promise to veto "again and again and again" bills he does not like. Many conservatives agree with Representative Bud Shuster, Republican of Pennsylvania, that Washington this summer is "going to be better than Disneyland."

The White House would like the show to resemble Frontierland, with President Reagan starring as the two-fisted fighter for leaner budgets and lower taxes. Mr. Reagan's critics say they are already reminded of Fantasyland, complete with economic fairy tales and political puffery.

One act of the drama will be the fight over the 13

spending bills that are supposed to be adopted by the start of the fiscal year Oct. 1. The Administration has already picked out three or four as prime candidates for rejection. In fact, the President is so eager to flex his muscles that he might veto a supplemental spending bill for fiscal year 1983 that could clear Congress this week.

But Republican leaders in the Senate, who do not want to get caught in a cross-fire, may well delay appropriations bills Mr. Reagan does not like and roll them into an omnibus Continuing Resolution as the October deadline approaches. Even if Mr. Reagan risks disrupting Government services by vetoing such a measure, Senate leaders would face only one fight, not a half-dozen.

The second act will feature taxes. The House made the first stab at revenue-raising last week, limiting to \$720 per taxpayer the tax cut scheduled to take effect on July 1. That would raise half the \$12 billion revenue target. But because the July cut is the third stage of the tax program enacted in 1981 as the cornerstone of his economic policy, Mr. Reagan is itching to veto the limit.

Eventually, however, Congress is likely to come up with a package of user fees and loophole closings to meet the 1984 tax target — though its prospects are complicated by the budget resolution's order that \$73 billion in new revenues be found by 1988, and the unpopularity of the chairman of the tax-writing committee with that charge. Some legislators are already thinking of ways to make a tax bill more palatable to Mr. Reagan, such as packaging it with spending cuts in, say, Medicare, which he said again last week he would like to cap. He might be hard-pressed to veto a tax bill that also meets his Medicare request.

Mr. Reagan enters the next phase of the budget process in a strong position. The shape of last week's compromise shows that his economic program no longer commands a majority in Congress. But he needs only the support of one-third of one house to sustain a veto. During the budget conference, Representative Ed B. Rostenkowski, an Arkansas Republican, told the negotiators that the President could count on those votes in the House. "What you're seeing in this room," he said, "is the senior members of Congress. What I represent is the force that is prepared to sustain the President's vetoes. The Establishment is not in control. We are."

The practical effect of such vetoes on the budget deficit is open to question. Only 18 percent of the Federal budget is appropriated every year; the rest is spent automatically, on such items as Social Security checks and interest on the debt. But the President's real point is political. He has always felt more comfortable as an outsider, running against the Government, and he intends to use the veto strategy to refurbish his Lone Ranger image for 1984.

In another sense, however, the budget passed last week demonstrates a significant deterioration in Mr. Reagan's position. The elections of 1982 and the continued sluggishness of the economy returned the Democrats to effective power in the House, and for the first time during this Administration Senate Republicans negotiated with them, accepting

a compromise that differed sharply from the President's priorities. Many Congressmen from both parties believe that the President simply does not understand how the balance point in Congress has shifted toward the center. The White House, they say, is still operating on its perception of the mandate of 1980, while Capitol Hill is listening to the messages of 1982. One of the 19 Republican Senators to vote for the budget, and against President Reagan, was Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, a senior member of the Budget Committee. "I don't think any of us were comfortable" with going against the President, she said, "but we hope he'll come to appreciate some of the things we've done here."

To Senator Kassebaum and others, Mr. Reagan made a mistake in pushing for more defense spending and deeper domestic cuts than the voters wanted. They also fear that his veto strategy will hinder the economic recovery he wants to nurture. "We're going to see interest rates go higher than they otherwise might be," said Senator Mark Andrews of North Dakota, another Republican member of the Budget Committee. As the majority, Senate Republicans feel a responsibility to make compromises and exercise leadership. Even Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the majority leader and a Reagan loyalist, commented that "a veto strategy is not the premium way to run a Government."

In the weeks ahead, Congress will be pushed and pulled apart by the conflicting impulses of confrontation and conciliation, pragmatism and ideology. Their resolution will influence not only the economic game plan for the rest of this year, but the political game plan for next.

Mrs. Heckler's Air of Compassion May Be a Political Plus

Softening Some Images, if Not Policies

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON — Margaret M. Heckler, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, probably could not change the Reagan Administration's stance on issues of concern to her department even if she wanted to. But to some extent she has changed the tone of the department, and that is no mean feat.

Mrs. Heckler constantly emphasizes her desire to be "fair, compassionate and humane" to the millions of people who receive assistance from the department. Thus, she announced a new policy this month to make the Social Security disability program more humane. But many analysts detected a paradox in what she was saying.

On the one hand, she insisted that no one had been unjustly cut from the rolls because all had gotten "a fair hearing through the appeals process" and that no one had to be reinstated. On the other hand, she acknowledged that there had been some "sad results," some "hardships and heartbreaks" for individuals, and she said there would be major changes.

That seemed to capture Mrs. Heckler's dual role: She defends the President and his record with an emburrance that suggests, as one Senator said, that she wants to nominate Mr. Reagan for a second term.

At the same time, the former Republican Representative from Wellesley, Mass., whose voting record placed her well to the left of Mr. Reagan, is trying to burnish the President's reputation for fairness and compassion. Mr. Reagan's reputation on that score has been tarnished by two years of budget cuts in social welfare programs.

In a speech earlier in the month to the United States Conference of Mayors, Mrs. Heckler again sounded the theme of compassion — this time, for victims of acquired immune deficiency syndrome, the mysterious ailment that has killed more than 600 Americans by destroying their resistance to infection and disease.

In expressing concern for homosexual men, those main victims of the disease, Mrs. Heckler showed empathy for a minority group rarely noticed by Federal officials of either political party.

But Mrs. Heckler has opposed Congressional efforts to appropriate more money for research on the disease, insisting the need could be met by transferring funds from other health programs. As usual, she was bound to espouse the position taken by the Administration and the Office of



Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret M. Heckler

Management and Budget.

Mrs. Heckler, to take another example, held out the hope last April of a new Government program to provide health insurance for the unemployed, who frequently lose medical coverage soon after they have lost their jobs. Three weeks later David A. Stockman, the budget director, delivered sober news: The Administration would support changes in the tax code and a few other steps to encourage health insurance for the unemployed, but only if they cost the Federal Government nothing.

Dr. Anthony Robbins, president of the American Public Health Association, an organization of 50,000 health professionals, said there had been some "very superficial improvements" under Mrs. Heckler. "She came in at a time when the Administration wanted to turn around its image," he said, adding, "She wants the department to look better so Reagan can get re-elected."

Mrs. Heckler was not well-known for her interest in health issues when she came to the department, and she did not appear to have any particular agenda or priorities. Representative Henry A. Waxman, Democrat of California, who is chairman of the health subcommittee of the Energy and Commerce Committee, said, "I just haven't seen any evidence of her personal involvement in health care issues."

Mrs. Heckler was sworn in March 9, but made her first visit to the National Institutes of Health, the Government's world-famous biomedical research complex in Bethesda, Md., only this month, for a briefing on AIDS. Mrs. Heckler has also pursued appeals of court decisions that invalidated a new rule requiring parental notice whenever minors receive prescription contraceptives from a clinic supported by the Federal Government. As co-chairman of the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, Mrs. Heckler had urged the Reagan Administration to abandon the rule. But now she defends it, saying, "My own prior views were personal views."

On another issue of concern to women, Mrs. Heckler shares the President's strong opposition to abortion. But she had no comment on the recent ruling by the Supreme Court that struck down a variety of local laws restricting access to abortions.

However, to assess Secretary Heckler's first 100 days in terms of her work on specific health and welfare programs is to miss a big part of her role. She is the third woman appointed by Mr. Reagan to a Cabinet-level position, she is a canny politician and she has been trying to get the President to speak out on issues of importance to women, such as pension rights and day care.

Mrs. Heckler has brought a note of humility to the department, a willingness to acknowledge mistakes, that stands in marked contrast to the more combative tone of other officials such as the new Under Secretary, John A. Svahn.

As Commissioner of Social Security, Mr. Svahn supervised the effort to purge ineligible people from the disability rolls. Mrs. Heckler is not halting that effort, but, with her keen political instincts, is trying to soften the effects by making the review process more equitable.

Chris Koyanagi of the National Mental Health Association, a private nonprofit group, said it was "a cruel hoax" to pretend that the announced changes would protect people already on the disability rolls or seeking benefits.

When she was sworn in, Mrs. Heckler told President Reagan that she would "symbolize the commitment and caring" he felt for people in need. The question now is whether she will be more than a symbol, whether she will translate that commitment into action. Answers may come later this year as the department revises regulations for hospices, nursing homes and facilities serving the mentally retarded.

The Economy

Bull Market Is Reaching Its Maturity

By LESLIE WAYNE

LAST Aug. 12 — a day when the news was dominated by the Israeli bombing of Beirut and the death of Henry Fonda — something important happened on Wall Street: The bull market came out of the chute. Few noticed it then, but the strongest stock market since the end of World War II had just begun. Today, nearly a year later, spiraling stock prices have created \$775 billion in new wealth and have lifted the Dow Jones industrial average 60 percent, to a record high of 1,248.30 just 10 days ago.

How long the bull will charge depends on many things — the future direction of interest rates, an upturn in corporate earnings and the continued cooling of inflation. Some say the Dow will rise to 2,000; others say the market is overvalued and will soon slip. In either case, as the stock market boom approaches its first birthday, it is clear its fast surge cannot continue. The steady rise of the first year is expected to give way to a second phase of slower gains — propelled more by a steady betterment in corporate profits and less by feverish hopes and expectations.

"The big money has already been made," said Barton M. Biggs, a managing director of Morgan Stanley & Company. "I don't think we'll make much more money from these levels."

A transition to the second — and slower — stage of the bull market may already be under way, with a third and more speculative stage yet to come before the market rises its course. In the first stage, it was simply the mere anticipation of an improved economy and better corporate profits that pushed stocks higher. Now, as the economy brightens and corporate balance sheets fatten, the market will continue to rise as those earnings come in — if they do.

Corporate profits have fallen steadily since the bull market began and have continued to drop even through the first quarter of 1983. This dismal showing, however, is expected to turn around and most forecasters expect a 25 to 30 percent rise in profits before the year ends.

"The key is what happens in the middle phase, after the initial mark-up phase," said H. David Lansdowne, research director of Financial Programs Inc., a \$1 billion family of mutual funds. "From this point, earnings growth and industry profitability will be the key to further stock market advances."

Some optimists predict a decade-long bull market. "We're in for a whole new supercycle," predicts Martin E. Zweig, the publisher of the *Zweig Forecast*, who feels the market will see 2,000 in a few years. Most are less sanguine and instead predict continuation of the bull market through 1984 as long as interest rates remain steady, inflation stays low, the recovery continues and no unforeseen international crisis develops.

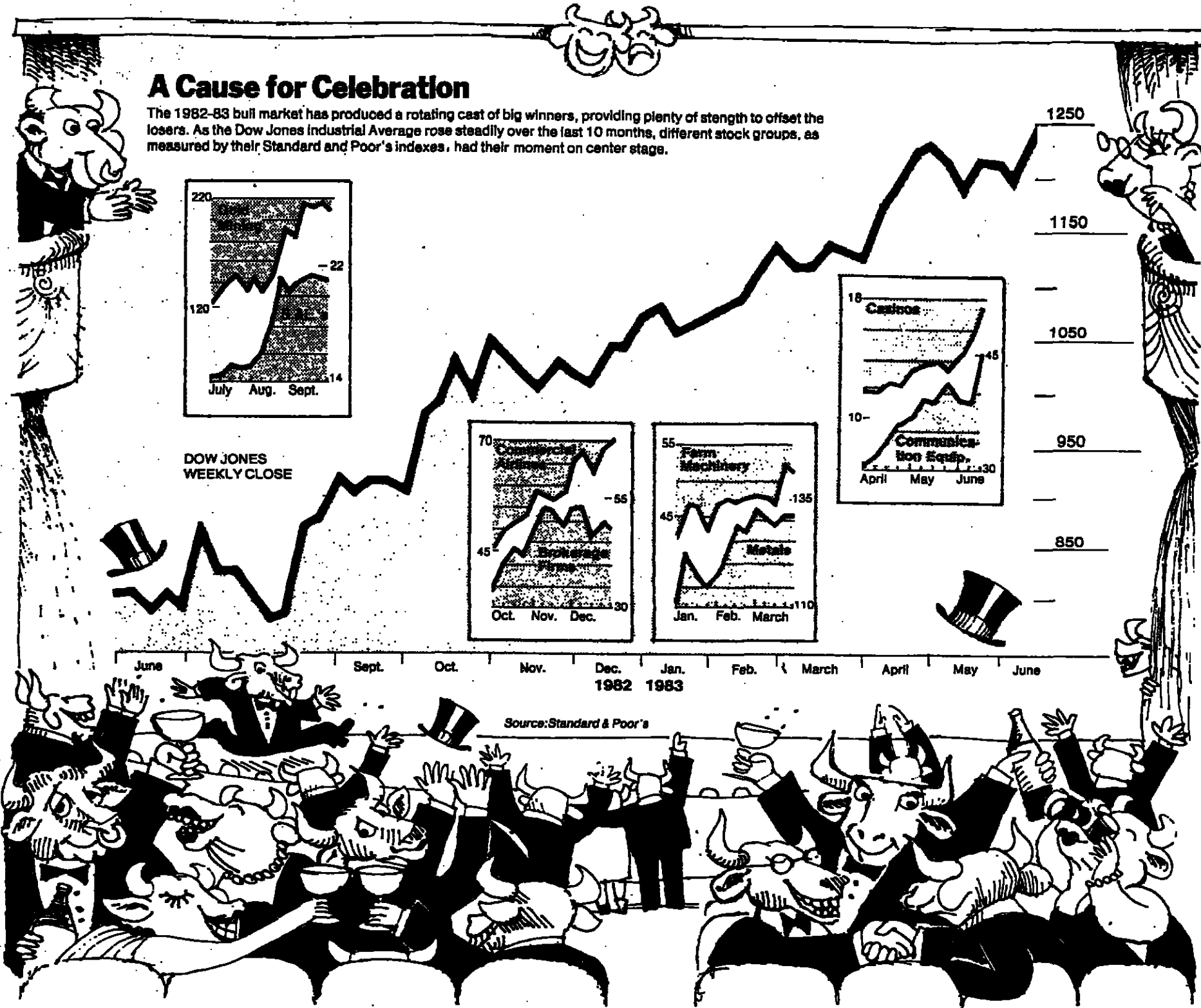
Fears of renewed troubles on all these fronts were cooled somewhat last week by the reappointment of Paul A. Volcker as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Mr. Volcker has long been viewed by Wall Street as the man who wrestled inflation and won and is the best defense against these problems recurring.

"I think the odds favor the bull market going into 1984," said Robert Farrell, chief market analyst at Merrill Lynch. "There's a lot of money waiting to get into the market so we could get a further good rise. But the bigger part of the gains have already occurred. The market still has room to respond to better earnings. If they don't materialize, however, we could get a big disappointment and a market correction."

Predictions beyond 1984 are difficult, and many worry that the big budget deficits now anticipated for the middle of the decade could, once again, result in theratching up of interest rates as the Federal Government competes with private borrowers for the investor's dollar. "At that time, crowding out by the Federal Government in the credit markets could become a significant problem," said Leon G. Cooperman, who heads investment research for Goldman, Sachs & Company. "Conditions are ripe for corporate profits to keep stocks moving up for the next 12 to 18 months. But beyond that, we'll have to take another look."

A Cause for Celebration

The 1982-83 bull market has produced a rotating cast of big winners, providing plenty of strength to offset the losers. As the Dow Jones Industrial Average rose steadily over the last 10 months, different stock groups, as measured by their Standard and Poor's indexes, had their moment on center stage.



What has characterized this bull market has been its strength — that it has moved up so much in such a short period of time. Of the seven bull markets that have occurred since the end of World War II, the average has lasted 38 months and has recorded a 94.1 percent gain as measured on the Standard & Poor's index of 500 industrials. This compares to the 60 percent gain shown on most stock market indexes in the 10 months since last August.

And, the rising market has lifted the shares of industry groups across the board. "It's not just special stocks with special stories," said Merrill Lynch's Mr. Farrell. "When you have the majority of stocks being carried

gan Stanley. "The market should fluctuate between 1,150 and 1,300 this year and it's clear it's moving toward the upper point of this range. If the market runs to 1,300 in a last wave of euphoric buying, then we could have a 10 percent correction easily." Stock prices eased somewhat last week, as the Dow Jones industrial average slipped to 1,241.69 at Friday's close.

Others say the correction has been taking place all the time: That some industry groups or specific companies have advanced, only to fall back and then advance again. In stock market parlance, this is called "rotating leadership." Even in this bull market, there are those investors who have lost money. "There's hardly a major stock that hasn't had a correction over the past nine months," said Stefan Abrams, a managing director at Oppenheimer & Company. "The averages don't feel this. But, if you bought Texas Instruments or Warner Communications or any of the fallen angels, you will have lost real money."

Most of these corrections have been halted, however, by the influx of new buyers. In this bull market, as stocks have fallen, new buyers have stepped in. For instance, oil stocks went down last year and then rebounded earlier this year, as did utility stocks. "Stock prices are not high by historical standards," said George S. Johnston, president of Scudder, Stevens & Clark. "And there's still a lot of money that wants to come into the market. So every time there's a correction, money comes in. That's a stabilizing factor."

The hottest part of the market has been high-growth, high-technology companies, where some feel that the signs associated with the third stage of a bull market — overvaluation — may have already begun. "The market generally swings between the extremes of greed and fear and I observe that certain segments are now dominated by greed," said Mr. Cooperman. "We're beginning to see some areas of speculation."

Gains of over-the-counter stocks and companies listed on the American Stock Exchange have outstripped the performance of those listed on the New York Stock Exchange or included in the S. & P. 500 Index. The American Stock Exchange and O-T-C composite indexes have both risen by more than 100 percent since the bull market began, compared with the Big Board's average of about 60 percent. And trading volume on the O-T-C has been as high as \$5 billion shares, a level not far behind that of the New York Stock Exchange. In fact, on one day, May 27,

O-T-C trading even exceeded Big Board volume.

In some of these more speculative areas, the share prices in relation to earnings are nearly twice that of the rest of the market. While the market's average price multiple is about 11 times earnings, the high-growth, high-technology segment is filled with stocks selling at 20 times earnings, or more. "When you look at this area, you have to recognize that the risks are different than they were six to eight months ago because the price has gone up a lot," said Edward J. Mathias, president of the T. Rowe Price New Horizons fund, which has \$1.6 billion invested in small, high-growth companies and is one of the nation's largest such funds.

So much money wants to get into this area and there are so few shares to be traded, compared with large blue-chip companies, that "you get prices run up because of the limited supply of that type of security," said Donald M. Keller, senior portfolio manager at the Keystone Massachusetts Group. "But it still hasn't gotten speculative yet compared to what the market is at its top."

This has all been good news for small companies seeking to go public as well as for large corporations wishing to issue equity to finance growth and improve balance sheet ratios. "The rally makes it easier and less expensive for firms to raise equity capital," said Burton G. Malkiel, dean of the Yale School of Organization and Management. As the market rises, corporations get more money for each share of new stock that they issue than in pre-bull market days. Not surprisingly, companies have been flooding the market with new equity issues.

Since last August, corporations raised a total of \$27.4 billion in the equity markets, according to Investment Dealers Digest, including nearly \$5 billion last March alone, a record. But the biggest action has been in initial public offerings — private companies that are going public. Since the beginning of 1982, a total of \$4.8 billion was raised through initial public offerings. And \$1.3 billion of this was raised in March alone. This March total was the largest for a single month in history and almost equaled the amount gained through initial public offerings during the entire previous year.

The main question facing investors now, however, is to time when the bull market will enter its third phase — speculation — before coming to an end. Indeed, all the money in the market will not be cashed in before the top is hit. And there will be those who fail to sell before the peak and who will lose much of their bull market gains.

Some say the big money has been made and Wall Street may have to make do with smaller gains.

without correction, you have a powerful demand force." Indeed, everyone is getting into the act — small investors, institutions, foreign investors.

The enormous wealth created by the rising market, in fact, is simply a reflection of the money going in. Net purchases of shares in mutual funds — one indication of small investor participation — increased by \$6.8 billion since the bull market began, with aggressive growth funds receiving about half of the flow, according to statistics from the Investment Company Institute, the mutual fund trade association. Based on first-quarter numbers, insurance companies have made purchases at an annualized rate of about \$6 billion, pension funds of \$3 billion, foreign investors of \$9.1 billion and individual investors of about \$23 billion, according to Goldman, Sachs.

More important, this has all happened without a major correction, or downside in stock prices. Some see a correction as possible. "Our work shows that the market is about 10 percent overvalued," said Mr. Biggs of Mor-

WEEK IN BUSINESS

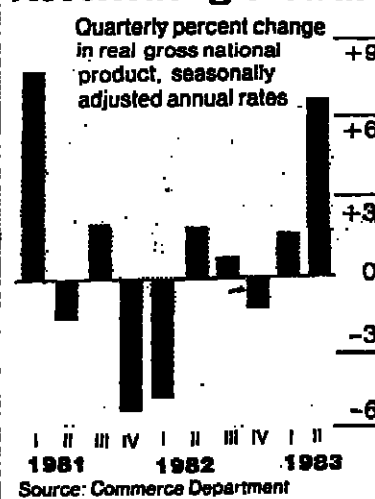
Fast Growth Leads to Fear of Inflation

The Return of Inflation? Now that Paul Volcker need not fret about his reappointment as Fed chairman, economists say he should be worrying that the fast pace of recovery will rekindle inflation. Two key indicators show they may be right. The Commerce Department's flash forecast for second-quarter growth showed a strong 6.6 percent annual rate of increase, which would be the strongest quarter in more than two years. At the same time, consumer prices popped one-half a percentage point in May. Mr. Volcker seems to have one of two alternatives — either let the money supply, and thus the economy, grow unhindered and risk losing credibility in his fight against inflation, or clamp down again on money supply growth, which would send interest rates soaring and dampen the recovery.

Stock market worries over whether the Fed had already tightened its grip on the money supply kept share prices flat and unresponsive to the economic news. The Dow Jones average fell less than a point in the week, closing at 1,241.69. Interest rates rose sharply during the week, especially on Friday. But after the Fed reported a \$3.2 billion drop in the money supply, rates fell back to pre-Friday levels, up about one-quarter of a percentage point for the week.

A Budget at Last. Congress finally passed a compromise budget for fis-

Accelerating Growth



Source: Commerce Department

cal 1984, despite President Reagan's strong protests. It calls for \$12 billion in higher taxes, \$11.6 billion in military spending cuts, \$14 billion in more domestic spending and a deficit of as much as \$179 billion. The compromise is not subject to Presidential veto, but Mr. Reagan can kill any appropriations bill that crosses his desk, and he has threatened to veto those that exceed his own budgetary targets.

Tip O'Neill's plan to cap the July tax cut is getting a lot of mileage. Though 29 Democrats voted against the Speaker's plan, which would place a

dollar limit of \$720 on the cut that begins this week, the House passed it on a 229-to-191 vote. The measure faces an uncertain future in the Senate and an avowed veto from the President.

Peace Pipe. The three-week battle for Texas Gas Resources came to a friendly conclusion as the Coastal Corporation agreed to withdraw its takeover bid, opening the way for CSX to acquire the pipeline company for \$1.07 billion. But Coastal is not leaving empty-handed. Texas Gas agreed to a "peace payment" of \$18 million to Coastal if it would desist. Coastal will also pick up another \$8.4 million when it tenders its Texas Gas shares to CSX. Total profit, \$26.4 million.

Peace Pact. Esmark made an apparently friendly takeover bid for Norton-Simon. The offer seems to have David Mahoney's approval, because the Norton-Simon chairman withdrew his own offer to buy the company. Evidently, Mr. Mahoney did not relish joining forces with the leveraged buyout firm of Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts, which had offered to pay \$33 a share for his company. What remains to be seen, however, is whether Norton-Simon shareholders will accept the Esmark offer, which is about \$1.50 a share less than the Kohlberg bid.

Banking Together. The Fed gave its blessing to the largest interstate bank

merger — the takeover of the troubled Seafirst Corporation by BankAmerica. It will cost B. of A. about \$400 million in cash, preferred stock and emergency capital infusion, but the big holding company will now own the largest banking institution in Washington State.

Farther south, Mercantile Texas of Dallas and Southwest Bancshares of Houston agreed to become a single bank holding company. Their combined assets will be \$18.1 billion, making them the second-largest in Texas and No. 20 in the country.

Who Says? Paul Volcker says the Fed ought to pay interest on the \$41 billion in bank reserves it now holds against its member bank deposits. ... Ronald Reagan says China can buy American computer technology that could be used in weapons systems and for other military purposes. ... A House committee said foreign auto makers would have to use specific percentages of American parts and labor used in their cars sold in this country, as it approved a "domestic content" bill.

The auto companies may not need domestic content legislation at the rate they're selling cars. For the second June period, the Big Three said sales were 73 percent above last year, giving them an annual selling rate of 7.3 million.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED JUNE 24, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

Pan Am 10,872,800 8% + %

ATT 3,587,600 62% + %

Tex G R 5,825,600 53% + 4%

Prim C 4,694,800 24% + 4%

Supr O 4,658,900 39% + 4%

Tandy 4,506,500 52% - 2%

Chrysler 4,323,300 35% + 5%

Sony Cp 4,318,600 14% + %

GHT 4,023,200 29% - %

Phil M 3,713,800 59% + 1%

Pan A W 3,571,300 5% + 1%

Exxon 3,509,400 34% - %

Es Kod 3,506,900 70% + %

Erbmt 3,453,300 23% - %

Schlmb 3,429,500 54% + 3%

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust 195.2 198.7 192.8 +1.87

20 Transp 30.7 29.4 30.5 +0.67

40 Util 65.0 63.4 63.9 +0.70

40 Financial 20.6 19.8 20.0 -0.41

500 Stocks 172.7 167.3 170.4 +1.27

Dow Jones

30 Indust 1258.6 1228.2 1241.6 -0.50

20 Transp 593.0 571.6 589.2 +8.17

15 Util 129.8 126.8 128.4 -0.65

65 Comb 499.8 486.2 494.7 +1.74

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED JUNE 24, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

ImpCh 4,973,200 8% + %

Reest W 2,935,100 13% + 2%

Dunlop 2,403,100 1-1/16 + %

Wang B 2,063,600 39 + 2%

Reest A 1,533,600 47% + 1%

DomeP 1,345,100 4-15/16 +3-1/16

Elsnor 1,143,900 13 - %

KeyPh 962,400 37% + 3%

CaseHJ 917,200 25% - 3%

Kentrn 822,600 15% + %

MARKET DIARY

Last Week Prev. Week

Advances 1,015 1,334

Declines 1,019 682

Total Issues 2,223 2,211

New Highs 442 546

New Lows 14 14

VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

Last Week To Date

Total Sales 468,030,620 10,785,107,232

Same Per. 1982 262,963,612 6,331,438,949

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

New York Stock Exchange

Indust 116.2 114.1 118.0 +1.52

Transp 95.3 92.6 95.3 +2.37

Util 47.0 46.5 46.5 -0.51

Finance 103.2 101.2 101.1 -1.66

Composite 99.2 97.5 98.6 +0.82

MARKET DIARY

Last Week Prev. Week

Advances 472 505

Declines 361 319

Total Issues 917 917

New Highs 214 245

New Lows 3 4

VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

Last Week To Date

Total Sales 60,916,285 1,156,021,969

Same Per. 1982 18,753,840 515,254,480

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

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The 'Contra' Revolution Won't Work

If the Reagan Administration has a dream about Nicaragua, it is this: With modest American support, the foreign-based insurgencies may catch fire inside the country and topple its leftist regime. ... If not, the junta may be forced to broaden its base, become less Marxist, more nonaligned. ... If not that, maybe it will be drained by diversionary battles and kept from spreading revolution in Central America during President Reagan's watch.

For all its heavy cost in lives and dubious legality, this is a policy. And the skirmishing at Nicaragua's borders has powerfully concentrated the attentions of the Sandinistas in Managua. They know their geography and understand that if the war grows, they can expect only modest help from Havana and Moscow.

That alone may explain their signals for direct negotiation with the United States.

What about? Some Sandinistas say they are ready to satisfy American concern about the alleged flow of arms to El Salvador, and to ally our fears of Cuban or Soviet bases in Nicaragua. Perhaps, they'll even talk about democracy, which many hemisphere governments find deplorably lacking.

But in return, the Nicaraguans want recognition of their right to pursue an independent course, without harassment. Even to test these offers, therefore, the Administration would have to give up its dream that insurgents might capture the country.

The choice is between trying to cash in our bargaining chips and disappointing the forces we have hitherto encouraged — or going for broke.

There is nothing irredeemably immoral about backing the "contras." Our role in the war ought then to be open, with aims that can be measured. And the Latin opposition to interference would have to be met with the argument that the Sandinistas themselves had abundant foreign help in overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship.

The overwhelming argument against that course is practical: the "contras" cannot succeed.

A Veto Vetoed

Like other great Supreme Court decisions, the one handed down last week undoing the legislative veto is supremely simple. Chief Justice Warren Burger, writing like a patient schoolmaster, explained it in familiar, basic terms. Remember what we all learned in social studies about how laws are made? Well, he says, that's just how it should still work.

That is, each house of Congress passes a bill, and it goes to the President to be signed. If he vetoes it, the only way to override is if two-thirds of each house votes to do so. Shortcuts will not do, however convenient the President and Congress have found them in the last half-century.

"The fact that a given law or procedure is efficient, convenient and useful," said the Chief Justice, "will not save it if it is contrary to the Constitution. Convenience and efficiency are not the primary objectives — or the hallmarks — of democratic government."

The legislative veto scheme permitted Congress to delegate authority to the executive branch while retaining the right to disapprove the way that authority was used. A majority vote of one or both houses, without the President's agreement, could block executive action. Ingenious; a useful way to settle differences among the branches. But the Court was right to strike down the 200 laws that have developed involving this system.

The system began innocently in 1932 when President Hoover accepted Congress's veto as the price of letting him reorganize the executive branch the way he wanted to. That kind of housekeeping agreement remains one of the veto's most popular uses, even with Presidents who have consistently denounced the veto in general.

Topics

Tooling Around Town

Bizarre Bazaars

"Almost everyone goes to the bazaar," the man said. "I go myself and it's wonderful." The bazaar is in Kashgar, China, a stop on the legendary Silk Road, and among its wares are horse bridles and camel bells, window frames for mud-brick houses and rugs to brighten a yurt.

That fact of the Kashgar bazaar is one Abdushukur Yakub, chairman of the Pahateki commune. But he could be anyone who ambles through New York's street fairs on a summer weekend.

The fairs probably began when a block association realized that having a kind of rummage sale was a fine way to pay for three ginkgos and a London plane tree. Then schools and churches, looking for help on the oil bill, tried the idea. So did the friends of whatever garden or playground needed dressing up; and, eventually, merchants' associations who knew a good sales gimmick when they saw it. Now Saturday in New York, when the weather's good, can seem a lot like

Sunday in Kashgar. The shoppers may look different, but their motives are identical: the possibility of a bargain, the certainty of entertainment and a breath of air.

The same air, incidentally: In both New York and Kashgar it's heavily laced with the scent of shish kebabs. The chance that art moderne cocktail shakers, old sheet music and cream cheese brownies can be found in the Kashgar bazaar is remote.

But it wouldn't be hard to find camel bells in a New York street fair. The determined shopper could doubtless come up with a horse bridle. Rugs suitable for a yurt are available all over the place. Only the window frame for a mud-brick hut poses a problem, but given the bizarre wares in local street bazaars, we're not sure we haven't seen one of those too.

Limousine Logic

Small wonder that Mayor Koch sounds sensitive about his new limousine. It is, among other things, a vehi-

They have no prospect of being militarily strong enough. Even if they were, they are fatally burdened by the Yankee colossus on their backs.

The difference in Central America between getting help from the north and help from the south is not a matter of geography, but history. Having sponsored the right-wing dictatorship that have now spawned leftist revolution, it is too late for us to appear as only benign democrats. Similarly, it is too late in Nicaragua for former servants of the Somoza regime, no matter how honorable, to present themselves as democratic saviors.

The exiles we support fight with the conviction that Nicaragua seethes with unrest. But in the major cities, where the Sandinistas won their revolution, no unrest is evident.

And Nicaragua is not Guatemala, where the C.I.A. managed the overthrow of a leftist President Arbenz in 1953; he led a regime, not a revolution. Nor does the situation resemble Chile, where American meddling helped destabilize the elected Allende government in 1973; the Chilean army, crucially, was not of the left.

Overt intervention with the Marines did block leftists in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and is the only hemisphere intervention that paved the way for stable, democratic government. But Americans were able to seal off that island and find an effective partner in President Balaguer.

The apter precedent for Nicaragua is Cuba, and America's sponsorship of an ill-fated invasion by exiles in 1961. The Sandinistas, like Cuba's Fidelistas, are exploiting the invasion threat to excuse their failures and to solidify their rule.

If we still hope to alter the course of Nicaragua's revolution we need to learn what accepting it will buy. America's legitimate concerns involve hemisphere security and guarantees against foreign bases and alien arms. Perhaps the Sandinistas will not discuss these issues in good faith, even in return for guarantees of their own security. But it would be unforgivable not to test them before the Central American fire spreads.

Other legislative vetoes made it easier for the White House and Congress to agree to important environmental, consumer and Federal pay legislation. When Imperial Presidents seemed to be usurping its power to declare war, Congress enacted the War Powers Resolution demanding Presidential reports on military missions.

There's mischief implicit in the legislative veto. By getting Congress into the day-to-day administration of laws, it creates an amazingly tempting platform for lobbyists dissatisfied with actions taken by executive agencies. In the case before the Court, a single chamber, mindlessly following a single subcommittee chairman, overturned the Justice Department's grant of a hardship suspension of an alien's deportation order.

Justice Byron White's dissent admitted that such extreme actions by Congress made it harder to defend the veto. Despite his argument that it was "irresponsible" to kill all vetoes in one sweeping case, the majority chose, wisely, to end the mounting legal uncertainty.

The decision does not render Congress suddenly helpless. It had plenty of reason to see this decision coming. Congress retains all its powers to investigate, to demand reports and, above all, to control the Federal purse — powers that should safeguard against executive overreaching. The White House, for its part, will need restraint and statesmanship in negotiating new laws to reflect a newly informed Congressional intent.

It may not be a tidy, orderly process but that's our democracy for you. As the Chief Justice observed, "The Framers ranked other values higher than efficiency."

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Letters

Upgrading Education: Merit Pay Is Not the Way

To the Editor:

President Reagan's concern for excellence in public education is commendable. It is unfortunate that he chooses merit pay for classroom teaching as the pathway toward that goal. He has raised a specious issue whose pursuit can only produce mischief in our schools.

The President and Secretary of Education Bell point to college teacher advancement from instructor to professor as an example of pay for teaching merit. They have not done their homework. Any freshman could have told them that college advancement has no connection whatever with teacher merit in the classroom.

Scholarship is the compelling criterion of college teacher merit. Mobility depends on graduate-degree accumulation and on the "publish or perish" mandate. It is frivolous to cite the colleges as models of merit pay for classroom teaching.

Indeed, teachers, the very beneficiaries of the proposal, oppose it. They warn of politics and favoritism in "merit" selection. They see a devastating impact on staff morale, as teachers compete with each other. They worry about parent and student attitudes toward teachers not selected for merit pay. A host of other problems

challenge resolution, such as criteria for evaluation, relevance of affirmative action, comparative difficulty of teacher programs.

There is need to restore our schools to proper levels of productivity, a process in which teachers are crucial catalysts. Purpose and pragmatism must be judiciously combined as we utilize innovative techniques. Merit pay gimmickry is not one of them.

MILLIE SHAMES
New York, June 20, 1983

The writer is a former teacher in the New York City public school system.

Teacher Leaders

To the Editor:

No one is against merit pay for teachers. Who will argue that a poor teacher should make as much money as an excellent teacher? The problem is implementing the idea. In most places where merit pay has been tried, not only has it failed to improve the level of teaching, it has lowered morale.

There are several reasons why simply giving the best teachers higher salaries does not work. The most often quoted is that it is subject to patronage abuse. Also, the best and brightest

students will not be attracted to teaching by the prospect of merit pay in 5 or 10 years. Salaries must be increased for all teachers.

The crucial problem in retaining good classroom teachers is that promotion now necessitates becoming an administrator or a supervisor. Many do indeed thus leave classroom teaching — for an increase in salary and/or greater recognition, responsibility and status. So any plan for improvement in classroom teaching must not only provide higher salaries, it must also provide for more recognition, status and responsibility.

Differentiated staffing, through the creation of master or lead teachers, has the potential for meeting these criteria.

The individual school or school district should decide on the form such staffing takes, on the roles that can best be performed by master or lead teachers. Every school can be improved by having lead teachers help their colleagues in planning their work, by giving them assistance in turning educational goals into lesson plans. Yes, these are supervisory activities, but they are activities that most supervisors now don't have enough time for.

If these lead or master teachers were paid the same salaries as administrators and supervisors, not only would many more superior teachers remain in the classroom but the quality of teaching would be improved across the board.

B. T. MASON
Larchmont, N.Y., June 17, 1983
The writer is emeritus professor of education at Queens College of the City University of New York.

A Job for Washington

To the Editor:

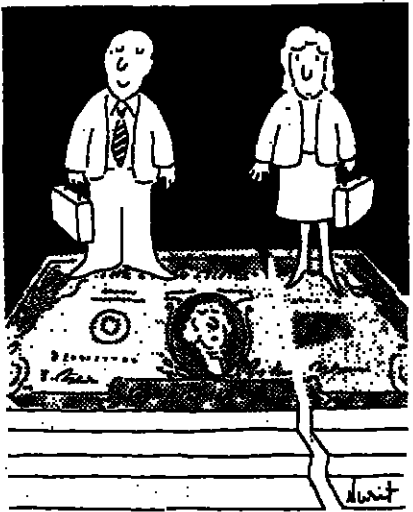
President Reagan advocates less Federal involvement in public education and recommends greater reliance on traditional local control. However, it is exactly this dependence on local control that has brought our public education to the low level it is at today.

Specifically, school boards are all too often composed of sincere volunteers whose knowledge in the field of education is minimal or nonexistent. So there are no minimum educational standards that all schools must attain, and many of the standards that we do have are absurdly low.

The solution is not to abolish the Department of Education (as the President wants to do) but to beef it up to the point where its trained professional educators can issue specific regulations that will require all our public schools to shape up in regard to curriculums, classroom procedures, criteria for promotion and qualifications for graduation. Local school boards could still handle many administrative and financial matters but the vital educational requirements would be mandated by the professional educators on the Federal level.

PATRICK W. GUINNEY JR.
Highland Falls, N.Y., June 15, 1983
The writer is a former high school mathematics teacher.

"better quality for less money." Sound economic principles presumably, but principles that nonetheless, by their express perpetuation of women's economic inequality, belie Mr. Greenspan's prefatory remarks about "always valuing men and women equally." Hiring women at re-



duced wages does not promote equality for women; nor does it, by accepting a lower market value for women, "raise" our "market value."

Mr. Greenspan's sound economic sense makes no economic sense for women. A true commitment to women's equality reaches beyond opening the office door; it extends into our paychecks, where it counts.

MARSHA LEVICK
Legal Director, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
New York, June 17, 1983

When Ideas Go Begging

To the Editor:

The agony of National Public Radio and the money crunch in public television remind us again that we need a BBC or CBC of our own.

Our airways have been given to profit-making organizations to fill. Expecting them to focus on anything but building an audience and maximizing profits is naive. Still, we need to fund a free enterprise of ideas. The spirit that creates "Morning Edition," "All Things Considered" and such imports as "Masterpiece Theater" can't be allowed to walk our streets with a tin cup.

A small fee attached to communications equipment we buy, a titling from networks and licensees would, I suspect, finance a radio/TV network that could set standards for quality and innovation. We have the talent. Perhaps Congress can give us a bit of help.

ARTHUR W. EINSTEIN JR.
New York, June 20, 1983

Industrial Policy and a Free Market Do Mix

To the Editor:

Karen Arenson's June 19 news article on the National Industrial Policy debate overlooks a crucial issue.

Saying, as she does, that industrial policy advocates are seeking less emphasis on free markets and more on government intervention in the markets ignores the substantial body of interest in using industrial policy to reduce bottlenecks, ease resource allocation and stimulate excellence in business decision-making. Characterizing those whose proposals are for thus lubricating the free-market functions as being intent on intervening in them is both unfortunate and misleading.

National investment strategies and foreign market targeting, backed by government power, are true government interventions. The real need of our economy and the real success of Japan's MITI, however, does not lie in

strategic intervention but in strategic coordination.

For example, sophisticated global maps of future competitive conditions expose otherwise invisible risks and opportunities, show business planners what developments might complement rather than conflict with each other and enable them to set more reliable, longer-range and more economically productive self-interest strategies for their own businesses and the whole economy.

It is important that a sharp distinction be made between the industrial targeting and industrial-coordinating motives behind proposals for direct government economic policy. The former are designs to rearrange free-market relationships. The latter are designs to enable the free markets to use our resources more efficiently and creatively.

PHILIP F. HENSHAW
Brooklyn, June 19, 1983

The Benefits of Mediating Rather Than Litigating a Divorce

To the Editor:

I wish to add another perspective on the issue of custody and support in divorce proceedings.

Susan-Marie Carpenter's letter of June 3 places the focus on the children's needs, where it surely belongs. Both Carol Berman's letter of May 19, stressing the inextricable link between financial and custodial considerations, and Sidney Raphael's of May 9, demanding greater parenting for divorcing fathers, respond to important unmet needs. All argue in the context of a process that is by definition antithetical to the cooperation and communication necessary for custody arrangements to work.

Ten years of practice in family law as an attorney has convinced me that the adversary process results in a polarization which all too often leaves the children as casualties. I pose that, as a first alternative, a divorcing couple engage in divorce mediation.

The divorce mediator works directly with the couple, face to face, and guides them through a structured process that results in agreements on all relevant issues. The agreement, the result of an average of eight to 20 hours of discussion and negotiation, is reviewed by separate attorneys before being filed in court.

I have found that this process allows both parties to analyze their new life situations and appreciate more fully each other's needs as well as the needs

of the children. Research shows that compliance by both parties with mediated agreements is far greater than with those resulting from litigation.

Some states (notably California) mandate mediation for all custody issues prior to litigation. I find Carol Berman's position that links custody and financial issues to be a necessary consideration. Litigation or mediation of only custody ignores the financial realities and inhibits effective resolutions. However, treating children as pieces of property to be labeled the possession of one parent or the other denies them personhood and their right to as much involvement with each parent as possible.

Mediation by a trained professional allows couples to act on their best in-

stincts and leave the marriage with integrity, recognizing each other's parenting responsibilities. It results in the natural consideration of the children and it fosters the cooperation and communication necessary to make creative custody arrangements work.

This new profession is being organized out of the legal and mental health professions by groups such as the Divorce Mediation Council of New York, Inc. (of which I am a board member). Divorcing couples should seek out qualified persons to help them. The State Legislature should consider establishing through law a public policy that integrates this into the divorcing process. Much suffering can then be avoided.

MARK KLEIMAN
New York, June 9, 1983

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Yes, Talk With Salvador Guerrillas

By Robert Leiken

WASHINGTON — It is hard to know what to make of Secretary of State George P. Schultz's hint this week that the Administration may be prepared to consider dialogue with the Salvadoran guerrillas. The Administration continues to portray them as Soviet proxies bent on absolute power. In reality, the guerrillas are Marxist-Leninists, but most are not pro-Soviet. And, despite steady military advances, they have been more willing to compromise than their adversaries in El Salvador and Washington.

Although assisted by Moscow, the guerrillas are not aligned with it. Four of the five guerrilla groups broke bitterly with the pro-Soviet Salvadoran Communist Party in the early 1970's. At most, only two of the five groups could be considered Soviet-oriented today. In 1975, one of the five executed their leading intellectual for being a "Soviet-Cuban and C.I.A. double agent." Last year, one of the top guerrilla leaders, Ferman Cienfuegos, told me he considered Soviet domination of Eastern Europe incompatible with national self-determination. He condemned the crushing of the Polish working class and extolled a foreign policy that can "move within both the capitalist and socialist worlds with great autonomy."

While condemning United States actions against Nicaragua, some Salvadoran guerrilla leaders also criticized the conspicuous Soviet-bloc presence there. They said that they would not want to see "so many Cuban doctors, teachers and advisers in El Salvador." Sandinista harassment of former non-Communist allies within Nicaragua has embarrassed the Salvadoran guerrillas' efforts to build a coalition with non-Marxists in their country.

One of the Administration's major arguments against negotiations is that it is the Marxist-Leninists in the opposition who "have the guns." In fact, non-Soviet Marxist-Leninists command nearly two-thirds of the guerrilla fighters.

The death of the hardline guerrilla leader Cayetano Carpio last month strengthens the nonaligned tendency among the Salvadoran guerrillas. But Washington is pushing the revolutionaries in the opposite direction. If the war is regionalized, the guerrillas may draw closer to and more dependent on Nicaragua and Cuba. The guerrillas will find it harder to pursue genuine nonalignment if Washington keeps the door to negotiations barred.

Cayetano Carpio's obscure death was part of the latest round in the guerrillas' internal dispute over negotiations. In 1979, they refused dialogue with the reformist junta that included their present civilian colleagues. Last year, however, the hardliners lost out, and now, for the first time, the guerrillas unanimously support negotiations.

What has led them down this path? Their military fortunes continue to prosper. Yet they acknowledge that victory is not in sight — and that few Salvadorans are prepared for either insurrection or a long war. Moreover, the guerrillas see dangers in victory, including a direct United States military response or an attempt to destabilize a revolutionary government. Only a broad-based government, they say, could cope with the tasks of national reconstruction. This would require a political settlement and normal relations with Washington.

Already, the guerrillas have made a major concession by agreeing to the preservation of the "institutional integrity" of the Salvadoran Army — its command structure, rules and most of its leadership. The guerrillas also expect that their own troops would not be disbanded — and would be put to service by the state. This would be a difficult issue in any negotiations, but a dual military might help underpin a relatively pluralistic and genuinely nonaligned El Salvador. This would help El Salvador avoid the fate of Nicaragua, where the Sandinistas came to power through an armed struggle that gave them a virtual monopoly of political and military resources — and encouraged their subsequent evolution toward authoritarianism and Soviet alignment.

The Administration opposes unconditional negotiations with the guerrillas because they would "shoot their way into power." Yet Washington applauds rebels in Afghanistan and Cambodia (not to mention those at arms in Nicaragua). George Washington shot his way into power. Denying the right to resistance denies our own history.

In other parts of the world, American policy makers have learned, there is divergence, even conflict, among Marxist-Leninists. We have sought a "strategic consensus" with China and provide military assistance to Marxist-Leninist Yugoslavia. Yet, in our backyard, such distinctions get blurred. This leads many Latin Americans to wonder whether it is the Russians we oppose or revolutionary change. Our national security would be jeopardized by additional Soviet-aligned regimes in Central America, but not by truly nonaligned governments — even with the participation of those who speak Marxism and seek to introduce socialism.

Robert Leiken is senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and senior Fellow at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies.

BOSTON — History will credit Henry Kissinger with great achievements in his years of power. The Nixon opening to the People's Republic of China could not have happened without his skill. Whatever hope there is for peace in the Middle East goes back to the disengagement agreements that he negotiated between Israel and Egypt, Israel and Syria. There were gains for U.S. interests and those of international order.

But there was a dark side to the Kissinger years. In the exercise of power he relied again and again on corrupt means: secrecy, deceit, cynicism, violence. The means were dangerous in themselves, and they led to some terrible ends.

Corruption in the means of power is the underlying theme of Seymour Hersh's book, "The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House." It is a profoundly important theme, and the book marshals evidence that is gripping in detail and in scale. To read these pages is to understand that Mr. Kissinger's methods threatened the deepest American values.

Here is Mr. Kissinger, in the summer of 1969, personally picking targets in the secret B-52 bombing of

Cambodia. The planes dropped 110,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia over a 14-month period, but the strikes were officially recorded as on Vietnam. When the falsification of records became known in 1973, Mr. Kissinger told a reporter that the White House knew nothing about it. He added: "I think it's deplorable."

Through it all the aim was to please Mr. Nixon, and thus to secure and retain power. To that end everyone else had to be cut out of the action and out of access to the President, the Secretaries of State and Defense among them. But then there arose a competitor in workaholic Hoopishness: Alexander Haig. The first time Mr. Nixon telephoned General Haig was a day of trauma. The scene would be funny if it were not so awful.

What one senses is a desperate insecurity in the man. He could never bring himself to say a simple word of regret even to the aides who had trusted him and been wiretapped. And an insecure man was the more dangerous working for a morbidly insecure President.

Mr. Kissinger says in his memoirs that Mr. Nixon wanted to cut Secretary of State Rogers and his depart-

ABROAD AT HOME

The Kissinger Lesson

By Anthony Lewis

ment out, in order to center foreign policy in the White House, and I see no reason to doubt that. If Mr. Hersh believes that more could really have been left to the hapless Mr. Rogers, I disagree.

But it hardly follows that Melvin Laird, the able Secretary of Defense, should have been treated as an enemy. He was so cut out of the chain of military command that Mr. Kissinger could communicate with field commanders in Vietnam without his knowledge. Military guards at the

most secret Pentagon communications center were ordered to exclude Mr. Laird from the room. His military aide was wiretapped.

Nor was there any legitimate reason — only monomania — for Mr. Kissinger to take over the arms control problem and do all the real negotiating with the Soviets himself. Mr. Nixon's official strategic arms negotiator, Gerard C. Smith, wrote later that "there were no Verification Panel or National Security Council discussions. There were no consultations with Congressional committees or with allies. It was a one-man stand, a Presidential aide against the resources of the Soviet leadership."

One remarkable aspect of Mr. Hersh's book is the effective way it incorporates material from others, such as Mr. Smith's memoirs — and Mr. Nixon's and Mr. Kissinger's. I admire Seymour Hersh as the country's premier investigative reporter. This book reflects not just digging but integration of the published history of the period: a formidable piece of work.

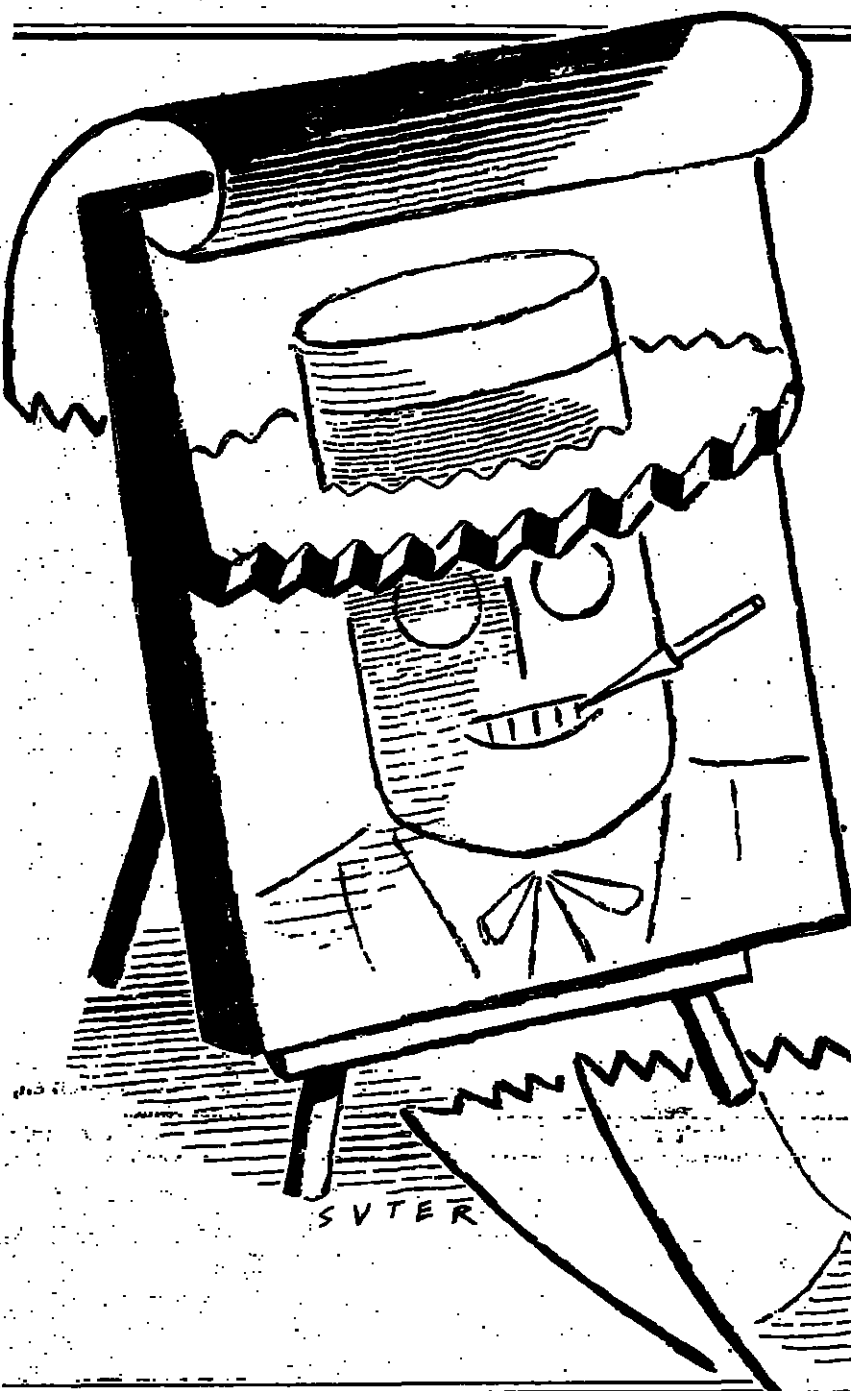
The other point exemplified by the book's treatment of arms negotiations is the relationship of means and ends. Not surprisingly, the single-handed

Kissinger method produced flawed agreements. There were many reasons for the subsequent, disastrous decline in Senate support for arms control. But one was a reaction against what Henry Kissinger did, and the way he did it.

A heavy price was paid for the view that the end justifies the means. The people of Chile paid, and Cambodia, and Cyprus. And Vietnam of course: Mr. Hersh produces important new material on how Henry Kissinger went to Washington saying that the United States had to be detached with as little damage as possible from a losing war, and quickly joined his master in trying to win the war by other means.

But America paid the heaviest price — or will if we ignore the lesson of the Kissinger years. Giving him credit for accomplishments is one thing. It is quite another to suggest, as some worshippers seem to, that this country can have an effective foreign policy only if it uses his methods. There can be no lasting American leadership in the world if our true vision of ourselves is corrupted.

James Reston is on vacation.



Victorian Savvy

By William Tucker

Victorian morality has come to serve as a foil for any kind of social "liberation." We think of Victorian society as an unfettered patriarchy in which women were molded into passive and obedient servants, and everyone's sexual appetite was suppressed to the point of neurosis.

Yet, there is one odd but persistent fact about Victorian life that stubbornly refuses to fit the patriarchal image. This is that, in the event of a divorce, children always went with the father. Only with the ascendancy of Sigmund Freud, and his exaggerated emphasis on the relationship between mother and son (the "Oedipus complex," so largely influenced by his own experience) did the courts and social workers shift the balance after 1910 and begin to grant mothers automatic custody in divorce proceedings.

Some recent developments in genetics have cast an interesting light on the issue of custody. Biologists now generally agree that when the "nur-

mal has impregnated a female, he can quickly go on to spread his genes elsewhere. Thus, it makes sense for the female to insist on a long period of courtship, which encourages faithfulness in the male and binds him to the task of rearing the children.

When compared with these behavioral patterns, the Victorian standard takes on a different meaning. Why, if the system were run purely for men, did society insist that men take custody of children after a divorce? The answer seems clear. It made men think twice about divorcing, since they would not be freeing themselves from their families but only taking on greater responsibility. Women were equally bound to their marriage vows, since in divorce they would be giving up children in whom they had invested enormous love and effort, and whom they could not easily replace.

The Victorian system favored neither men nor women: It favored families. The Victorians, in their wisdom, saw the family as the most stable and valuable of human institutions. They loaded the system against the individual interests of men and women to keep both committed to the family.

Our society, of course, has carefully undone nearly all of these prescriptions. Men now abandon their families with the assurance that their only responsibility will be alimony payments, which often are easy to avoid. Women abandon their husbands with the assurance that they will not lose their children. In addition, we have a remarkable Federal welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which actively subsidizes family breakups by giving welfare payments only after one parent is missing from the home. Among those portions of society most vulnerable to these disincentives — primarily poor people — the nuclear family is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

Have we produced a more stable and happier society? I have my doubts, despite the theories of pop psychologists that having a father and mother in the house isn't all that important, and that family disintegration can be pleasantly painted over with the broad brush of "promoting social diversity."

In any case, it is not for us to judge. Our children, undoubtedly, will take care of that. They may be kind and look back at us as a generation somewhat given to self-indulgence, or they may be less charitable. But the least we could do now is to look back at our Victorian predecessors and admit that they at least showed some wisdom in the way they ran their society.

William Tucker is author of "Progress and Privilege: America in the Age of Environmentalism."

F.D.R.'s Coalition Awaits A Spark

By Joseph L. Rauh Jr.

Today, 20 million workers belong to labor unions (about one-fifth of the workforce), compared with barely two million (6 percent of the workforce) when Mr. Roosevelt took office. Blacks account for a larger number and percentage of voters and Hispanics have become a new, vibrant force in many areas of the country — both due in no small measure to the Voting Rights Acts. So many women have joined the affirmative government coalition that the gender gap may yet prove determinative in 1984. And any list of potentials for the coalition has to include newly politically conscious groups like senior citizens, handicapped, gays, small farmers and conservationists.

But even a cockeyed optimist on the liberal side has to concede that there are tensions and divisions between various groups in the coalition. Blacks and Hispanics have historic differences. Many Jews differ from others in the coalition on affirmative action. Labor's hard line on military and foreign affairs, protectionism and growth at the expense of the environment clashes with the predominant liberal view on these issues. Abortion and gay rights are divisive within and among groups.

But the ties that bind the coalition

together are far greater than any of these tensions and divisions. All groups in the coalition agree on one thing: Government can work for the people from the bottom up, not just from the top down. They long for a society where everybody who wants to work can have a job; where the health of each person is properly cared for; where each child has an opportunity for a decent education and no child goes to bed hungry; where every family has at least minimum shelter; and where every vestige of discrimination on grounds of race, creed, color, sex, sexual preference, national origin, age or handicap is eliminated. These goals combine the special interest of each component group with the general interest of all.

Sadly, no one has yet sought to arouse the coalition from the cynicism and apathy that set in with Vietnam and Watergate. Jimmy Carter ran against Washington in both 1976 and 1980 and summed up his belief on this score in his 1978 State of the Union Message when he proclaimed that "Government cannot solve our problems... Government cannot eliminate poverty, or provide a bountiful economy, or reduce inflation, or save our cities, or cure illiteracy, or provide energy." Ronald Reagan's 1980 antigovernment campaign outdid even Mr. Carter's, culminating in an inaugural one-liner about government being part of the problem, notable principally because he was head of the Government that he called the problem.

One would have thought that front-runner Walter Mondale's record as a Senator made him the perfect candidate to spark the affirmative government coalition. But it is not going to be ignited by anyone who is perceived as the candidate of one group in the coalition, and Mr. Mondale's acceptance of labor's protectionist position and its military and foreign hard line (as evidenced, for example, by his criticism of the "no first strike" advocates) at least gave that appearance. Nor is the coalition going to be ignited by almost-front-runner John Glenn, whose self-described centrist position has a muted antigovernment tone.

The coalition can only be aroused by one who makes each group believe his or her stand for affirmative government is in the interest of all and that he or she is the captive of none. F.D.R. exuded the sincerity, optimism and courage to instill the coalition with the intensity of dedication necessary for electoral success. The coalition is out there waiting for the person with the courage to buck today's conservative conventional wisdom and give the coalition the leadership for which it yearns.

The Way To Make Congress's Life Easier

By Daniel Patrick Moynihan

our Constitution were intent upon changing. They wanted an arrangement that diffused power, and to obtain it they turned to what Alexander Hamilton called the "new science of politics." Central to the arrangement they devised was an independent legislature, separate from the executive. Through two centuries, the Constitution has insured that all power has not settled in the executive. Thus, the President declares war on the Congressional budget process but cannot command that we pass the budget he submits. Congress can get hold of a veto power similar to that granted to the President by the Constitution, but the Supreme Court will ultimately impose a truce. Powers are separated, and they conflict.

We would do well to use Hamilton's "new science of politics" to make this process a little easier for everyone. There is a rule: Organizations in conflict become like one another. Think of hockey teams, television news, navies. Much in the manner of an arms race, the Government has become ever more tension-ridden and burdensome as its branches introduce new techniques of conflict or adopt those earlier introduced by others.

Consider office buildings. In 1902, Theodore Roosevelt built the west wing of the White House. T.R. picked up the idea from Captains of Industry: Important People had offices of their own. Until then, Presidents had worked in their living rooms, members of Congress at their desks.

Very well. The House built the Cannon Building in 1908, and the year after, the Senate built the Russell Building. F.D.R. built the east wing; the Senate built the Dirksen Building; the House built Longworth. J.F.K. added Jackson Place; the Senate, the Hart Building; the House, Rayburn.

The Supreme Court, in 1935, moved out of its cozy chambers on the first floor of the Capitol to a Greek temple across the way. The Justices have not been seen since, save by their burgooning number of clerks, who spy on them and leak to the press. Just so, Presidential and Congressional staffs have taken over filling our schedules, to the gunwales. In the process, they have all but cut off the President from the elected members of Congress.

We have not become bureaucrats, so much as the wards of bureaucrats. We have been inattentive to the "science of politics," which so absorbed the Founders.

I have a proposal. Disarmament. Could we not undertake to tear down one of our buildings for every one of his the President tears down? And, meanwhile, leasing the Supreme Court to the Greek Embassy (in return for a naval base) and welcoming Justices back where they belong.

If the President would reduce the number of departments, we could reduce the number of committees. If he eased up on Federal regulations, the Justices might undertake to deploy 10 percent fewer decisions per year, while we undertook to merge the Congressional Budget Office with the President's Office of Management and Budget. We'd still be here 'til Christmas, but in a better mood, and maybe doing a better job. Go to it, Senator Baker. We'll put you up for a Nobel.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is Democratic Senator from New York.

In 'The Dresser,' All the Stage Is a Movie

By MICHAEL BILLINGTON

Albert Finney and Tom Courtenay are two sides of the same coin. Both exemplify the kind of regional, working-class actor who seemed to dominate British theater and cinema in the 1960's. Both come from the North of England. Both played Billy Liar on the London stage. Yet, for the first time, they are now appearing together, in roles which call for a virtual symbiosis. The vehicle is a \$6 million film version — directed by Peter Yates — of Ronald Harwood's stage hit, "The Dresser," being shot at London's Pinewood Studios.

Mr. Finney plays Sir, a tired, old touring actor-manager taking his tacky Shakespearean troupe around a bomb-stricken England in 1942. Mr. Courtenay re-creates his stage role (which he played in London and New York) of Norman, the effeminate dresser who dedicates his energy to getting Sir onto the stage for a performance of King Lear. In the film, the relationship between the two men is a bit like that of Shakespeare's Lear and Fool. On the set, the two actors lapse easily into a jokey, Mutt-and-Jeff rivalry. Every time the director favors Mr. Courtenay in close-up, Mr. Finney mutters darkly about getting on the phone to his agent; and when Mr. Courtenay puts back a line originally in the play, Mr. Finney thumbs through the script doing an imaginary word count.

But behind the banter, the two actors are seriously involved in a project that poses some fascinating questions. How, above all, does one adapt a hit play to the screen — in particular, a play that deals with a long-vanished style of touring, actor-manager theater full of well-cured ham? Peter Yates, a soft-spoken British-born director whom one associates with action-movies like "Bullitt," "Murphy's War," "The Deep" and "Breaking Away," hopes he and Ronald Harwood have cracked the problem.

"The great mistake would be to try and open up the story to give you a saga of wartime Britain with the bombs falling and people scurrying into air-raid shelters. What Ronnie Harwood has done very deftly is to open up the story by taking you all round the theater before and during a performance: You see the front-of-house, the other dressing rooms, the manager's office, the wings, all the

Michael Billington frequently reports on the cultural scene in England.



Tom Courtenay as Norman and Albert Finney as Sir in the film version of "The Dresser," directed by Peter Yates, at right—"It's about anybody utterly devoted to their art."

paraphernalia and detail of a theater struggling to do a performance in wartime. The stage play was inevitably confined to Sir's dressing-room during a single performance.

"In the film, we start with the end of a performance of 'Othello' in one theater and then show the move into another theater for 'King Lear' on Monday. We also show you things that could only be described in the play, like Sir tearing off his clothes in the market-square of the town where he's due to open as Lear and being rushed to hospital; or his wife's dressing room, where she sits darning tights, complaining that she's sick of cold railway trains and theatrical lodgings. Ronnie did three drafts of the script, and each time he built up the sense of the theatrical life going on

around the main crisis of getting Sir on stage to play Lear."

But why should the film attract people who never go to the theater? "It's got to make you feel," says Mr. Yates, "that putting on a performance of Lear is civilization's answer to the crisis of war; and, just as Lear defies the storm, so Sir challenges Hitler's bombs by giving the best performance he can."

"It's also a story about loyalty and service: The dresser serves Sir and Sir serves the audience. And that's why I believe it will grab audiences who don't know the first thing about the British actor-manager tradition. It's about anybody, like Dustin Hoffman or Barbra Streisand, who is utterly devoted to their art; and it's as specific and detailed as 'Tootsie'



about the mystery of impersonation. That's why I wanted to do it. I trained as an actor, worked in repertory in Scotland and would love to go back into the theater and do some Shakespeare."

"It's also fascinating to work with people like Albert and Tom who positively enjoy acting. I heard one of the crew say the other day that it's nice to have actors back in the studio, not just

stars. And through them I want to show how rehearsed life can be just as real for actors as the life outside the theater."

The dynamic of the story concerns the way the weeping, exhausted Sir is coaxed into life by his dresser and shunted on stage to play Lear. In a crucial scene, Mr. Finney, almost unrecognizable as a stubby, balding old Thespian in a grease-stained dressing gown, sits staring wanly at himself in a mirror. Mr. Courtenay, blue-shirted and bulky-bottomed, dances attendance. Mr. Finney, at his behest, paints a broad, straight line down his nose, dabs his face with cornflour, applies a mass of white hair to his chin with surgical spirit. Suddenly the seedy wreck of real life is transformed: There is the image of Lear muttering, as if to assuage the bombs, "I shall give them a good one tonight."

Clearly detail is crucial; and at Pinewood they've created a complete backstage world down to the grubby, cream-painted walls, the earth-filled fire buckets, the phone booth with its actorish graffiti ("Careless talk on this phone costs half your salary"). But the real attraction of "The Dresser," will, one suspects, depend on the confrontation of Mr. Finney and Mr. Courtenay. It is remarkable how many popular plays ("Othello," "Becket," "Waiting For Godot," "Amadeus") rely on interdependent male protagonists; and here there is the added spice of seeing Mr. Finney, the 47-year-old Lancashire-born heavyweight opposite Mr. Courtenay, the 46-year-old Yorkshire-bred middleweight. One day the two men were discussing, off the set, their wish to do "Othello." Only gradually did it dawn on them they both wished to play Iago.

But their rivalry is bantering and friendly. Mr. Finney, removing his doublet of King Lear and Sir to reveal a shaven cranium with two tufts of hair at the side, is the first to admit how much he has learned from Mr. Courtenay's past experience of the play. "Take that scene today where I make up as Lear. Tom told me when he rehearsed it to use my anger towards Norman as a springboard for putting on the beard, wig and mustache and to let my anger carry me through the physical business. But I didn't have the confidence to do that: I felt it wouldn't hold, and I knew when we shot it the scene hadn't

quite worked. So we did it again this morning with me muttering and cursing under my breath as I apply the makeup; and it came off exactly as Tom said it would."

Mr. Finney, often thought of as a bravura romantic, is really a very skilled character actor. This year he has already played Pope John Paul (aging from 29 to 58) in a three-hour CBS television movie and in August hopes to be in Mexico shooting a film of Malcolm Lowry's "Under the Volcano" with John Huston. But how difficult was it to get inside the skin of Sir, an old-style star leading a third-rate touring company?

"I saw the original production of 'The Dresser' in Manchester and it was very fine; but I felt it was crucial not to make Sir too decrepit or far gone, to give him a touch of buried authority."

"I'm trying to suggest he is a man who has flashes of greatness: that, in extremis, his own life coincides with Lear's and he reaches for something beyond his normal range. I remember when Larry Olivier played a seedy comic in 'The Entertainer' he was asked how he managed to sing and dance and tell jokes in the character of a third-rater and he simply said, 'I did it as best I could.' That's what I shall do when I shoot the Lear scenes. But I've also been listening to gramophone records of old actors like Donald Wolfit, Wilfred Lawson, Johnston Forbes-Robertson, Gordon Craig: I've noticed how they dwell on vowel sounds like the 'ou' in 'ground,' how they turn 'my' into 'me,' how they enunciate every syllable, how their voices have a sing-song musicality. It's the old thing of getting the details right and then the character, hopefully, follows from that."

Where Mr. Finney exudes cool confidence, Mr. Courtenay is nervously jaunty.

Of course, "The Dresser" isn't purely a two-man show: It has Edward Fox as an angry young playwright, Zena Walker as Sir's long-suffering wife and Eileen Atkins as a dotting stage-manager. But, in the end, it's the Finney-Courtenay chemistry that will determine whether the film works. Columbia plans to open it in New York and Los Angeles in December with one eye clearly cocked on next year's Oscar nominations.

Manet in His Own World

By JOHN RUSSELL

One would have to be crazy — so people said — to go to Paris to see the Manet centenary exhibition. It is, of course, one of the great exhibitions of the age. As to that, there is no dispute. It has very nearly all the major paintings that are available for loan. It has a fresh and lively choice of watercolors and drawings, and a particularly well documented set of prints. Manet is seen entire, as he always wanted to be, and in a way that is unlikely ever to be repeated. The catalogue weighs five-and-a-half pounds, reproduces everything in color and would take a week to read through with due care.

But what was the point of giving the airlines our business when the exhibition can be seen at the Metropolitan Museum from Sept. 10 through Nov. 27? It will be the same show, give or take a few paintings, and the same catalogue, give or take a few entries. What possible reason was there not to wait, apart from the pleasure of being in Paris?

There were two very good reasons, as a matter of fact. To begin with, Manet's paintings are at home in Paris, and they have a heightened vibration when we see them there. Manet was the archetypal Parisian. He was born there. He was raised and educated there. All his friends were there. He never left Paris if he could possibly avoid it. He was happiest as a Parisian among Parisians, and if he couldn't go down into the street at the end of the day's work and sit in a Parisian café, he fretted.

He did not by any means paint only Parisian subjects, but to everything that he did — even if it was a naval battle, a moment of high drama in the bull ring or the execution of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico — he brought a Parisian turn of mind. In particular, he had a Parisian view of human relations. Inquisitive, matter-of-fact and implicitly fatalistic, he was immensely appreciative of other people — and, above all, of pretty women — and he didn't care from what level of society they came.

Born to a certain amount of money and an assured so-

cial position, he was direct, downright and somewhat off-hand, as Parisians of that sort often are. He was also secretive, in true Parisian style. Of his inmost thoughts and his most private actions, virtually nothing is known. As a husband, as a putative father and as a possible lover, he covered his tracks.

He gave nothing away. He never gabbed or wrote confessional letters or kept a diary. Even the look of his studio — so often a painter's preferred subject — was classified material. The so-called and much reworked "In the Studio" of 1868 is not so much a portrait of a given workplace as a masterpiece of documentation that embraced not only his own family situation and the way people lived in the Paris of the 1860's but the whole history of painting, past and present.

The truth is that Paris looks different after we have seen this exhibition. So do Parisians. We realize all over again the role in Parisian life of the balcony, the secret garden, the long-lasting dark furniture, the illustrated magazine, the marble-topped café table and the well-stocked bar.

Manet could have been all these things and still been no more than a dexterous manipulator. What makes him both a great artist and a key figure in the development of painting is that he was both the end of something and the beginning of something. More and more, it seems that Manet in the 1860's and 70's was the vessel through which the whole history of painting passed.

Manet was the end of something in that he was the last great painter to whom it came perfectly naturally to work at one remove only from Frans Hals, from Velasquez, and from Rubens. Their flesh was his flesh, their blood his blood. No historic break with their practice or their ambitions had yet occurred.

And he was the beginning of something in that he opened the way not merely for the Impressionists but for painters of a later and more complicated stripe. Matisse for one said in 1932 that "Manet was the first to act upon his reflexes, [Matisse's emphasis] and thereby to simplify the painter's practice. He was as direct as it is possible to be. The great painter is the one who finds a personal and enduring idiom in which to express his vision. Manet found such an idiom." In doing so, Manet reasserted the status of painting as one of the most privileged of human activities.

The second good reason to see the show in Paris is that not all of it will be coming to New York. Certain great paintings are not going to be allowed to leave Europe, and they include at least two — "Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe" and "Olympia" — that are synonymous with the name of Manet in many people's minds.

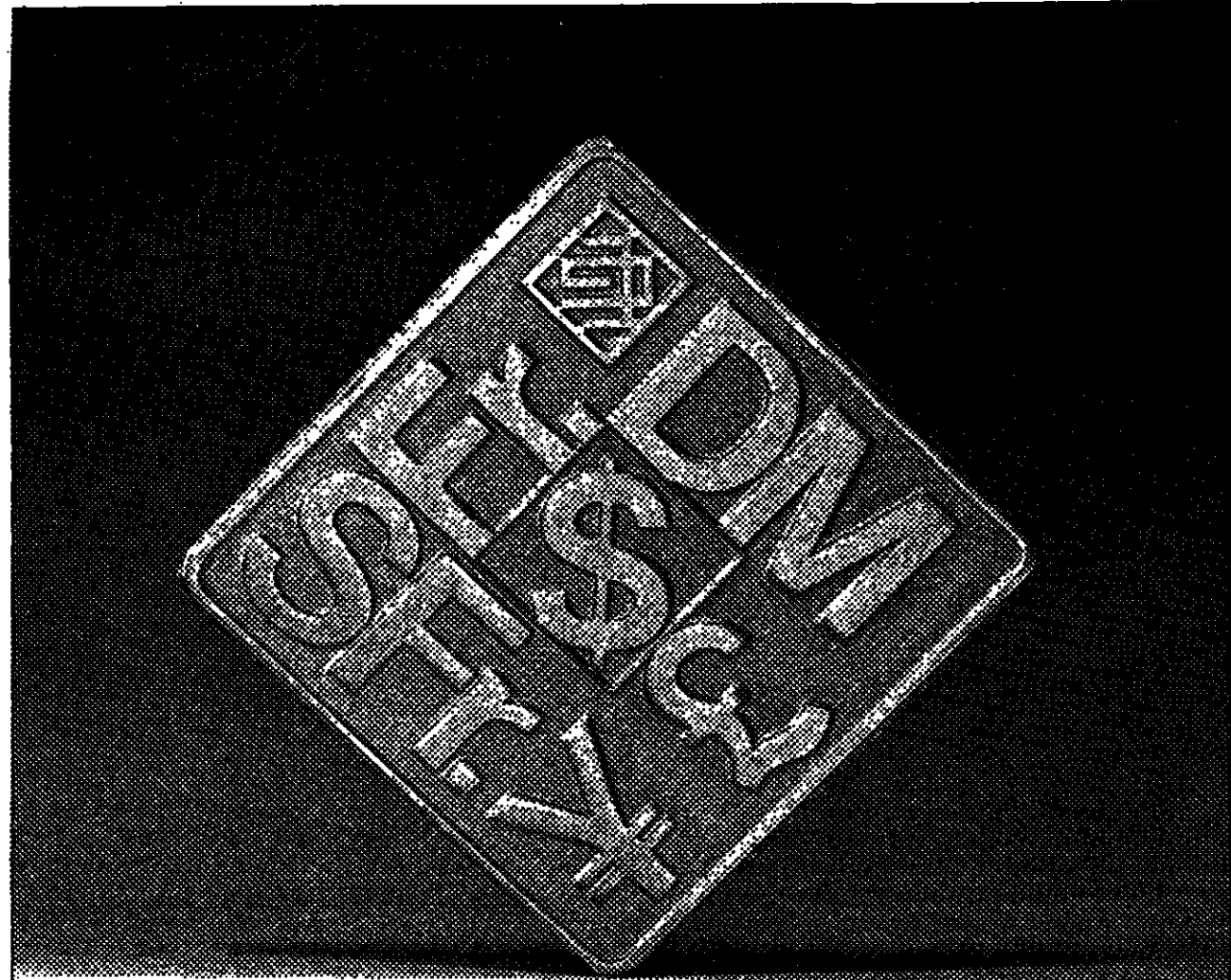
This visitor will miss in particular the celebrated but rarely seen portrait of Jeanne Duval, the creole mistress of the poet Charles Baudelaire. Though constantly reproduced in black and white from an ancient photograph that was clearly no good to begin with, this painting has been in a museum in Budapest since 1916, and even among Baudelaireans there are not many who can claim to have seen it.

It is a terrifying picture. Jeanne Duval was in her 40's and partly paralyzed at the time when Manet painted her, and as Françoise Cachin, curator of the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, points out in a characteristically cogent catalogue entry, she was the very reverse of the kind of woman that Manet himself admired. Illness had eaten away at her looks, and it was with a mask of malevolence that she stared the painter down. Her deformed leg made a further contribution to what must have been as uncongenial a task as Manet was ever set.

He solved it by painting a picture that is all skull and skirt. More than half the canvas is taken up with a huge hooped skirt that is extravagant even by the standards of the 1860's. Manet then added a further distraction in the shape of a transparent lace curtain that runs across the whole breadth of the upper half of the canvas. Both skirt and curtain are gloriously painted, but they cannot make us see the painting as anything but what it is: one of the most sinister of memorials to human bondage.



Detail of Manet's "Portrait of Jeanne Duval," not seen in the West since 1916



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INFRINGEMENT OF PRIVACY

H.C.249/82. In the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice. Before Justice Aharon Barak, Justice Gvuriel Bach and Judge (Acting Justice) Elisha Sheinbaum. In the matter between Moshe Vaknin, petitioner, and the Military Court of Appeals and others, respondents (H.C.249/82).

THE PETITIONER, a convict in a military prison, was suspected of concealing drugs in his body. Having denied the allegation, he agreed to drink salt water without realizing its full effect, and brought up a capsule of drugs. He then took more salt water, as if voluntarily, but tried not to swallow it. The water was then poured down his throat by force, and he brought up two more capsules.

Despite his objection to the above evidence, the petitioner was convicted in a district military court of possessing dangerous drugs, and his appeal was dismissed. He then petitioned the High Court of Justice to annul the conviction on the ground that the evidence against him had been obtained by unlawful means and was therefore inadmissible.

Counsel for the petitioner relied in the main on sections 2 (1) and 32 of the Protection of Privacy Law of 1981, which provide:

2. Infringement of Privacy is any of the following: (1) spying on or trailing a person in a manner likely to harass him, or any other harassment.

32. Material obtained by an infringement of privacy shall not be used as evidence in court without the consent of the injured party unless the court, for reasons which shall be recorded, permits it to be so used, or the infringer, being a party to the proceeding, has a defence or enjoys an exemption under this Law.

THE FIRST judgment of the court was given by Justice Bach. The "exclusionary rule," he said, which had been developed in American precedents, rendered inadmissible any

evidence obtained by the police, directly or indirectly, by unfair means. It had started with the exclusion of evidence obtained by means of illegal search or seizure, and had reached the stage where information given by a suspect in a confession improperly obtained, which was not in itself part of the confession, was excluded under the "fruits of the poisonous tree" theory. When American judges were asked to explain this attitude — which led to the acquittal of many criminals whose guilt, by any objective standards, was clear, and which meant, therefore, punishing society — their answer was that this was the only way to stop the "third degree" methods employed by the police, which had almost become the norm.

The exclusionary rule was not accepted in England, the principle being that relevant evidence is always admissible, even if obtained by illegal means. Since, however, there are some cases of serious improprieties on the part of the police, the courts exercise a discretion to exclude evidence where its admissibility will infringe the rules of basic fairness towards the accused.

Neither of these approaches had been accepted in Israel, Justice Bach continued. He then cited a number of decisions of the Supreme Court in which the conduct of the police had been criticized, and the court had left the door open to apply the exclusionary rule if necessary. The general impression, however, was that although there were isolated cases of police brutality, there was no general situation which called for the application of that rule in order to curb police methods.

Even in a case in which the Supreme Court had refused to sanction the forcible administration of an enema to a prisoner in order to discover drugs hidden in his body (a case not concerned with the admissibility of evidence), it had emphasized that the exclusionary rule had not yet been accepted in our system.

IT WAS NOW necessary to con-

Protecting privacy

LAW REPORT/Asher Felix Landau

sider whether the judicial policy described above had been altered by the legislature. After referring to the legislative background of the Protection of Privacy Law, and an exhaustive review of the arguments heard, Justice Bach held that forcing the petitioner to drink salt water constituted "other harassment" within the meaning of section 2 (1) of the Law, and was therefore an infringement of his privacy. It was true that the action in question also clearly constituted other offences, such as assault, and it had been argued that the legislature had not intended in this Law to create new offences. However, where the language of the law was clear, as in this case, there was no room for speculation as to the legislature's intentions, even if it appeared which it did not in the present matter — that certain possible consequences of the Law had not been foreseen.

Counsel for the State had argued that the evidence in question should be admitted, since the investigators were protected by section 19 (b) of the Law, which provides that "a security authority [which includes the police] shall bear no responsibility under this Law for an infringement reasonably committed within the scope of its functions and for the purpose of carrying them out."

This argument was unacceptable, said Justice Bach, for the infringement in the present case was certainly not "reasonable." It constituted both a criminal offence and a civil wrong, and was no less serious than the forcible administration of an enema, which had already been described by the Supreme Court, in the case referred to, as an infringement of privacy.

Counsel for the State had referred to the ruling of the Supreme

Court that it would only interfere in decisions of the Military Court of Appeals where it was clear that a military court had exceeded its jurisdiction, or there was a clear mistake on the face of the record. He had also pointed out that even if it were held that there had been an infringement of privacy, it was still open to the court, under section 32 of the Law, to admit the evidence "for reasons which shall be recorded."

Regarding the first point, Justice Bach held that since the matter raised was one of principle relating to an important legal question, this was a case in which the Supreme Court would interfere. It was true, however, that the military courts had not considered the question raised under section 32 of the Law; moreover, it would not be proper for the Supreme Court to speculate as to what the military courts would have decided, and in any case such a procedure would deprive the petitioner of a right of appeal.

IN CONCLUSION, Justice Bach said that he found no fault with the petitioner's conviction relating to the first capsule, since he had agreed to drink the salt water which had made it available as evidence.

For the above reasons, Justice Bach proposed that the petitioner's conviction in regard to the second and third capsules be set aside, and the case be remitted to the District Military Court to exercise its discretion under section 32 of the Law. If it decided to admit the evidence, it could restore its judgment in its entirety. If it rejected the evidence, it should review the sentence imposed upon the petitioner. Justice Bach also proposed that the respondents pay the petitioner's costs in the sum of IS\$8,000.

JUSTICE BARAK dissented from his colleague. Dealing first with the exclusionary rule, he said that there were many possibilities between the two extremes represented by the accepted approaches in the U.S. and England. He was not prepared, as counsel for the petitioner had requested, to adopt the rule in Israel. This was a question going to the very roots of criminal justice, striking a balance between the necessity of ascertaining the truth and protecting the rights of the accused.

It was a question of great legal and public importance, and could not be decided without the full picture being before the court. The attorney-general had not informed the court of his opinion on the general principle involved. What was the extent of the obtaining of evidence by the police by improper means? How would the police be influenced by applying the rule? Were there not perhaps other, better means of ensuring proper police procedures? What was the experience in other countries? These matters had not been fully probed in the present case.

This was not the way to create judicial legislation. It was not enough to ask the court to follow the practice of some other countries, said Justice Barak, and he would therefore express no opinion in the matter. Counsel for the petitioner had argued that if evidence obtained by the infringement of privacy — an offence carrying a sentence of one year's imprisonment — was inadmissible, it followed that evidence obtained by the commission of a much more serious offence, namely assault, should be excluded, even if the assault did not amount to such an infringement. This argument was unsound, since it was for the legislature to decide when to

employ, or not to employ, the exclusionary rule.

IT REMAINED to decide the basic question whether there had been an infringement of privacy, within the meaning of the Law, in the present case. In his opinion there had not. The court was not concerned with the general conception of privacy, but with privacy as defined in the Law. The expression "other harassment" was vague and included many facets.

Justice Bach had held that if the wording of the Law was clear, there was no room for interpretation, and that the Law in question was clear. He did not agree with this finding. The provisions in question were far from clear, and called for interpretation in the light of the intention of the legislature. Even if the language of a law was clear, it still required interpretation, for it was the duty of the courts to ascertain the intention behind the law, and to give effect to that intention.

Examining the history of the Law in great detail, Justice Barak reached the conclusion that it was intended to fill a vacuum, and provide a legislative solution in areas where the existing law did not provide a remedy. It was an outcome of the development of modern electronic devices, of computers and other means of invading a person's privacy without physical violence. No doubt there was some duplication. To give only one example, wiretapping, which is controlled by a law of 1977, also constituted an infringement of privacy.

But there were also many other matters not covered by other laws, such as photographing, misuse of a person's name, exploiting knowledge of a person's private affairs, an assault on his modesty — all of these unconnected with him physically.

He had reached the conclusion that the Law was not intended to cover conduct which constituted a criminal offence recognized by the general law. It did not, therefore, cover the offence of assault, and the conduct of the investigators in the present case did not fall within its

purview. It was not his intention, Justice Barak said, to examine all the situations which the Law may cover. This Law dealt with new norms in a complicated and uncharted area, and it was sufficient for the present case if he held that it did not apply to the conduct complained of. For the above reasons, he proposed that the application be dismissed.

JUSTICE SHEINBAUM concurred in the judgment of Justice Bach. He dealt at length with the precedents of the Supreme Court dealing with the possibility of applying the exclusionary rule, and agreed with Justice Barak that the basis for such a decision had not been laid in the present case. On the other hand, he agreed with Justice Bach that the invasion of Privacy Law applied to the facts before the court. There was no justification for restricting the meaning of the language employed, and the fact that conduct covered by the Law was also covered by other laws was not sufficient reason for not giving it full effect.

The Law was intended, said Justice Sheinbaum, to defend a person's privacy, and protect him from harassment. This right can only be adequately preserved if the "fruits" of the harassment are inadmissible in court. The court, however, has a discretion to weigh the protection of this right against the necessity of discovering the truth. No doubt the courts will evolve, in the course of time, the tests to be applied in finding the balance between these two objectives.

By majority decision, the court made the order proposed by Justice Bach, and decided that the application of the Protection of Privacy Law to the facts of the present case should be reconsidered before a panel of five judges.

Advocate Shmuel Mintzer appeared for the petitioner, and Advocate Eli Ben-Tovim, senior assistant state attorney, for the respondents.

Judgment was given on April 28, 1983.

LOOKING BACK, without anger, at things we could have done without a fourth radio programme, there is so much overlapping going on that I am beginning to believe that Broadcasting House's bright young men are running out of ideas and are now mainly engaged in stealing each others' thunder.

I still like the Voice of Music, but why should the First Programme want to compete with it? A sample, picked out at random, from last Thursday morning: the First Programme hit us with Dvorak, Rossini and Bach, while on the Voice, Maestro Rostropovich was giving us his interpretation of Tchaikovsky's *Rococo Variations*. The same thing is happening on the other networks. In short, our programmes have become sterilized pre-digested mush. There is little variety, as all the disc jockeys seem mainly intent on airing their own political beliefs, and it makes little difference who's doing the talking.

As early as 7 a.m., Alex Ansky (Army Radio) tells us what he thinks we should read in the morning papers; Ehud Manor (Second Programme) does more or less the same a few minutes after eight. Then Moshe Timor takes over at 10 o'clock. There's more of the same with Gabi Gazit at 2 p.m., after the news, followed by Yitzhak Alon and/or "Shmuel" Shay.

Dreary repetition

LISTENING IN/Zeev Schul

TAKE THE Mapam Convention. I do not recall whether Manor was the first to have a go at it on Thursday morning, but it was thoroughly discussed on the noon broadcast and then some more by Gazit and the Army Radio commentators. As if this did not suffice, it was also featured at the beginning of Yitzhak Alon's "Any Questions?" programme that same evening.

I switched over to TV for some relief — and bingo — there was Victor Shemtov giving us his opinion on why Mapam members might want to leave the Alignment. Enough is enough!

The very least of the powers that be should do is delineate beats and styles for the various jockeys — and get them to stick to them. A better idea still would be to review the entire concept of having four Hebrew programmes, plus an army station, Abie Nathan's Peace Ship and the television, all competing for our attention. As things are, radio programmes are stretched thin.

This is particularly true of the late evening programmes. In addition, some games like "Radio Lotto" are just so much gibberish to the uninitiated. What is needed is music to lull us to sleep on one hand and something to keep drivers awake on the other. Drivers are captive listeners, and keeping them informed of road and weather conditions, possible accidents and the like would be a real boon.

SOMEBODY SHOULD have invited a linguist to help us understand what the Knesset Speaker last week labelled "verbal violence." Health Minister Eliezer Shostak, retaliating to Yossi Sarid's "zeroed zero," uncorked a "sheigetz meshugaz" which has nothing to do with goyish layabouts, but in its classical biblical interpretation, means "abominable abomination." I enjoyed that one.

Things were less complicated a hundred years or so ago, when feuding parliament members would settle their differences with pistols

at 20 paces. Were this the fashion today, we could wake up to find the face of the nation changed overnight, with the parliamentary balance as precarious as it is.

LEST I be accused of wishing to scuttle Israel Radio's programmes wholesale, let me hasten to point out that there are some I actually like. I listened to both of them — reincarnations of successful, long-running BBC programmes — last Shabbat.

One, called "The Whole Truth and Nothing but the Truth" served to undermine our confidence in the media by illustrating what convincing liars our opposing teams of radio and TV staffers are, while providing a good many belly laughs. The programme has just been given an indefinitely extended summer break.

The other Shabbat morning piece I like is "A Matter of Taste," which specializes in some unusual recordings. This week I heard Shirley Temple, then eight years old, singing a part from Lucia di Lammermoor, as well as Barbara Streisand's rendition of a Handel aria. Finally, we heard Count Leo Tolstoy expounding his philosophy on a recording made in English, in Russia, back in 1910. A real collector's item. This programme has also, unfortunately, been given a break.

paraphrase as an encore, and here he displayed some incredible dynamic shading and astounding technical fireworks.

Shostakovich has achieved such an elevated position among contemporary composers that it appears difficult, as time goes on, to justify a reputation which was also fed by political considerations. Mehta put a tremendous amount of commitment into the rendition of the First Symphony, but the result seemed to be in inverse proportion to the effort invested: never has the symphony appeared so superficial in content.

Pretentiously meditative and excessively laboured in the *Lento*, the other, slightly grotesque, movements were too light-weight to stand up to critical approval, unless one considers this symphony a youthful work (Shostakovich wrote it at 19!).

The net result of this performance was plain boredom, and it was only Mehta's inspiring direction and the orchestra's excellent performance that compensated somewhat for the lost time.

Agnes Agonistes

THEATRE/Uri Rapp

HERE are some very effective formulas for successful drama:

Formula One: Nothing better than a trial — as old as Socrates. It allows the development of the plot in reverse; it turns the dialogue itself into action, it arouses the tension of a "mystery" and the relief of a "solution," and it supplies a set and well-tempered framework to the play. Of course, you have to eliminate the tedium of proceedings and formalities, and to pull together the relatively few dramatic moments ("We are waiting for Kreon — Oh, oh, here he comes.")

Formula Two: Nothing better than a psychoanalytic treatment — as old as Freud, at least. The reasons — see above. Again, the tedium has to be eliminated, but then we get the satisfaction of "instant" cure.

Formula Three: Combine the two. The dramatic effect can be electrifying, and also remunerative. This is the *Equus* formula.

Formula Four: Some time after the arrogant announcement of God's death many people find that they cannot do without Him. Since one cannot go back to the innocence of olden days, the drama will be one of doubt and soul-searching, of confrontation between established religion and personal disbelief, and the like. Recently the Catholic faith has been mined for some of the vocabulary and layman's "profundities," a formula which seems to be quite popular. But Catholic mumbo-jumbo has just as much meaning as Jewish mumbo-jumbo, as may be seen in *Yoshe Kalb*, now at Habimah.

SOME VERY good plays have been produced in this way, and some very bad ones, too. *Agnes of God* by John Pielmeier is somewhere in the middle. The play, brought here directly from Broadway, is cleverly done. The author knows how to keep up tension, how to relieve it from time to time, how to surprise us again and again, and how to keep us dangling at the end.

The structure is exactly like the clever *Equus*: A crime is committed, and the court appoints a psychiatrist to find out why. As added spice in both plays the psychiatrist gets involved him (her) self and acts out his (her) own problems through the course of treatment (not very good medicine, this). We can experience all of our ambivalence about psychiatrists, their immense power (especially in court), the awe we hold them in, the gnawing doubts about the scientific value of their trade. The answer is very gratifying: psychiatrists are human, too — meaning weak and disturbed.

Agnes (the Lamb) is a backward and thoroughly innocent girl in a convent. She gets pregnant — nobody knows by whom, not even herself — and the baby is born and killed. The rest is the detective story, in which she turns out to be a very disturbed human being, with all her disturbances severely expressed under her religious faith. She has the makings of a saint, the foremost requirement being that she has no contact at all with the contemporary world. The lady psychiatrist, on the other hand, is highly sophisticated and totally contemporary. The Mother Superior is

practical and opportunistic.

The trio fit together dramatically and the scenes are structured realistically. The one exception is that much of the story is told by the psychiatrist to the audience. This "direct address" technique can be very effective. In a play like this it just shows a shortcoming of the author, who cannot build a credible exposition through the dialogue itself. Anyway, a raconteur should not be one of the dramatic persons.

THE THREE actresses are Elizabeth Ashley, Geraldine Page, and Maryann Plunkett. Plunkett gives a convincing performance as Agnes. Ashley as the psychiatrist portrays a full and lively personality right from the beginning, but relies too much on mannerisms, especially gestures, which she repeats all the time. I also found out what American actors have in common with Israeli ones: they shout at the tops of their voices when they want to make a point. Oh, for some British understatement.

Three conclusions: One, it is not a great compliment for religion if to be a true believer you have to be as dumb as Agnes. Two, it is not a great compliment for rationality and awareness if becoming conscious of your problems destroys your personality, as happens to the psychiatrist. Three, it seems to be good business to combine these two: All performances here sold out. Yet it was a nice enough experience, especially since it didn't tax the mind.

ISRAELI FILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA, Zubin Mehta conducting, with Jerome Lowenthal, piano (Bilbao, June 22). Vivaldi: Concerto for Four Violins; Schumann: Concerto for Piano, opus 54; Shostakovich: Symphony No. 1, opus 10.

GIVING MEMBERS of the orchestra a chance to perform as soloists seems a very good idea, and Vivaldi obliged by writing concertos for multiple soloists (his *Concerto for Three Violins* will be played by three other orchestra members in Tel Aviv). As a further gesture, four women were chosen, all fairly recent immigrants: Paya Yussim, Eva Strauss-Marko, Anna Rosnovsky, and Rodica Iosub-Cohen.

Concertos for multiple soloists

MUSIC/Yohanan Boehm

The concerto is a spirited piece and the various solo parts were diligently performed, under Zubin Mehta's calm but watchful eye. A most pleasing opening.

Less satisfactory was the following piano concerto. Jerome Lowenthal is a brilliant pianist of in-

ternational stature, but his main interest lies in more contemporary music, which treats the keyboard as a percussion instrument. He might have given us a rousing interpretation of Bartok or Prokofiev, but, instead, chose the romantic Schumann concerto for which he does not seem to have the right empathy. The role of "singing" the music was filled by Mehta, who superbly directed the orchestra in beautiful music-making.

Taking the finale much too hurriedly, the pianist got into trouble and lost his nerve, but the situation was saved by an unperturbed Mehta. To compensate, Lowenthal played Liszt's kitchy *Rigoletto*

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Market starts week on upbeat

TEL AVIV. — Market action was positive yesterday, perhaps partly under the influence of the announcement that Cial Israel will assume control of the Israel Corporation (story on Page 6). It was one of those sessions which left nearly all investors with a feeling of satisfaction, as all sectors wound up on the upside. The General Share Index, commercial banks excepted, was smartly ahead by 1.07%.

Industrials and investment company issues led the market rise with gains of 1.78% and 1.34%. Five securities were registered as "buyers only," while only two were listed as "sellers only." Moreover, 51 securities showed gains of more than 5%, while 37 others fell by similar margins.

Turnovers advanced only slightly and totalled just under IS710 million.

Index-linked bonds showed minor gains but turnovers were still very low and barely reached IS132m.

It was a good session for commercial bank shares. With the exception of Union Bank, all others were ahead and in some cases the gains were relatively strong. The Maritime Bank shares were 6.2% higher, while the O.S. issue scored a 7.8% advance. These shares experienced sharp price gyrations and at current levels probably are a "speculative" buy. FIBI, which has also seen broad fluctuations, was ahead by almost 3%. The Danot 1 and 5 shares, which have fluctuated wildly, were ahead by 3.8% and 3.3%. It will be recalled that the shares are trading ex-50% bonus shares.

Modest gains punctuated the insurance group, as the best advance was achieved by Menora 5.0, which gained 5.3%. Both shares are trading ex-dividend and ex-bonus shares. It was surprising to note that the Menora 1.0 shares were clipped for a 5% loss, while the 5.0 shares were advancing so nicely.

Service and trade issues continued to swing sharply, with prices rising, on balance. Gaiel Zohar 5.0 was up 10.1% while Cold Storage 0.1 succumbed by 10%. Consortium 0.1 was a 10% loser, while the Cold

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

Bonded Warehouse 0.1 shares raced ahead by 10.2%.

Land development, real estate and citrus plantation stocks moved ahead on moderate turnovers.

Baranovitz 5.0 was a 10% winner and was joined by Matam 1.0. Pri Or was unchanged, but its option fell by 13.4%. Casarea 0.5 was a 10% loser.

Industrials were one of the better sectors, showing broad gains. Alliance Tires saw its shares trade unchanged on a turnover of IS1,800.

Elron was 3.6% higher, while Elbit, the daughter company, was up by 2.7%. It will be recalled that the Elbit shares are to be registered for trading on the American "over-the-

counter" market. Zik 1.0 was up by more than 9%. Hamisha Yuda was traded as "sellers only" for the second session and will trade today without any price restraints. The option was hit for a loss of nearly 15%.

Lodzia 0.1 was a 10% gainer as was the case with Ayit 1.0. Cyclone 5.0 rose by 10.1%, while the option raced ahead by 15%.

Investment company issues also had a good day. The shares of the Israel Corporation as well as those of Cial Israel didn't trade following the announcement of Cial's takeover of IC. Elgar and Elern both chipped in with 10% gains. Ampa returned to its old ways and was "buyers only."

Jordan Exploration moved ahead by 7.7%. Piryon edged ahead by five points.

Naphtha was a 10% winner in a generally advancing oil group.

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Independence	2533	12	n.c.
Tefahot op	2570	265	+5
Tefahot op	2550	2	n.c.
Tefahot op	5860	21	+50
Tefahot deb.	254	733	n.c.
Tefahot deb.	402	632	+5

Financing Institutions

Shilton r	260	94	+6
Shilton op	1901	—	—
Shilton op	1771	33	+1
Shilton op	2420	90	+10
Carmel op	1393	110	+42
Carmel op	109	967	n.c.
Biyan	3202	97	+26
DevMortgage	1355	332	n.c.
DevMort op	866	98	+16
Mishkan r	3965	81	+25
Mishkan r	2965	4	+25
Independence	5100	61	+120
Independence	2533	12	n.c.
Tefahot op	2570	265	+5
Tefahot op	2550	2	n.c.
Tefahot op	5860	21	+50
Tefahot deb.	254	733	n.c.
Tefahot deb.	402	632	+5

Industrials

Modul Beton	1273	2	+10
Mishael 5	314	132	+25
Mar-Lex 1	205	50	+4
Mar-Lex op	120	151	+7
Modul 0.1	324	134	n.c.
Modul 0.1	111	100	n.c.
Modul 0.1	112	63	+18
Lifshitz 5	235	440	+20
Lifshitz 5	142	227	+2
Lifshitz op	106	442	+28
Nest Aviv	311	21	+11
Nichsi Hadar	815	168	n.c.
Solel Bon. p. A	6700	29	n.c.
Sahar 1	374	91	+2
Sahar 5	326	20	+1
Sahar op	207	67	+4
Pri Or op	100	20	+2
Pri Or op	910	5	+141
Casarea 0.5	808	10	+10
Rogovin 1	385	321	+12
Rogovin 5	311	189	+2
Rogovin op	135	442	+11
Rasoco p. r	161	160	+2
Rasoco r	920	282	+8
Rasoco op	828	61	+7
Shenhar 5	119	174	+7

Services & Utilities

Gaiel Zohar 1	639	94	n.c.
Gaiel Zohar 5	208	195	+19
Gaiel Zohar op	104	109	+5
Gaiel Zohar op	259	95	+24
Delek 1	251	161	+2
Delek 5	2677	5	n.c.
Harel 1	271	118	+6
Harel 5	157	40	+3
Harel op	101	39	+2
Lighting 0.1	627	164	+21
Lighting 0.5	339	568	n.c.
Cold Store 0.1	13860	22	+140
Cold Store 1.0	4080	22	+289
Israel Elco r	517	137	+2
Dan Hotels 1	337	85	+2
Dan Hotels 5	172	679	n.c.
Coral Beach	85	176	+10
Coral B. op	85	176	+10
Hilan op	416	32	+5
Tela 1	289	47	n.c.
Tela 5	141	99	n.c.
Tela op	82	222	+4
Cla Comp	935	214	+5.1
Cla Comp op	691	4	+11

Land, Building, Citrus

Oren	271	63	n.c.
Oren op	520	12	+45
Azaron Invest.	362	329	+15
Azaron r	456	15	+9
Azaron op	334	15	+20
Azaron op	917	265	+90
Azaron op	330	348	+20
Africa Int. 0.1	8640	3	+10
Africa Int. 1.0	7800	—	—
Africa op	5580	1	+30
Azaron	178	91	n.c.
Azaron op	148	47	+2
Arad 0.1	283	123	+24
Arad 0.1	170	255	+23
Ben Yakar 1	584	29	+4
Ben Yakar op	528	1	+1
Baranovitz 1	163	391	+6
Baranovitz 5	117	106	+10
Baranovitz op	90	95	n.c.
Dunkner 1	306	171	+3
Dunkner 5	295	227	+1
Dunkner op	790	79	+24
Dunkner op	147	189	+8
Darad 0.1	360	9	+13
Darad 0.5	170	250	+4
Darad op	1250	1	+30
Darad op	325	50	+2

Investment & Holding

Unico r	461	58	+10
IDB Dev. r	3630	1148	+25
IDB Dev. op	3135	69	+135
Incoba	205	1416	+13
Elgar	10800	5	+90
Elgar	9889	1	+899
El-Rov 1	117	475	+6
El-Rov 5	92	460	+2
El-Rov op	4778	60	+10
El-Rov op	4380	32	+23
Amivav	3870	12	+27
Amivav	4115	6	+25
Amivav	2915	6	+15
Central Trade	1100	73	+29
Israel Corp. 1	3930	48	+330
Israel Corp. 5	4009	5	+31
Inv. Par r	3999	6	+207
Wolfson 0.1	700	48	+12
Wolfson 1 r	700	48	+12

Most active stocks

Delek 5.0	341	2751.1	+11
Hapolum r	1462	2226.5	+6
Sharon r	2302	2062.2	+7
Sharon r	15096	15096	+7
Bonds	15132	1m.	

New Listings

Amnionin	298	295	+10
Amnionin op	294	301	+1
Time 1	690	169	+10
Time 5	400	273	n.c.
Sdom Metal op	292	202	+11
Kodem Chem.	473	b.o.i.	+22

Delek & Exploration

Delek Exp. 1	275	15	+8
Delek Exp. 5	106	108	+5
Delek op	101	46	+10
Oil E. Paz	1400	398	+5.7
Oil E. op	123	47	n.c.
Tetrol 1	88	176	n.c.
Tetrol op	75	408	+5.6
JOEL	94	368	+1
JOEL op	65	74	+2.6
M.G.V. op	161	226	+7.4
M.G.V. 5	87	650	+1.1
Simion 1	189	697	n.c.
Simion 5	117	725	+2.1
Simion op	80	440	+2.6
Fedfil r	220	140	+10
N. Amer. 1	115	190	+7.7
N. Amer. 5	126	7	+6.9
Naphar	30800	1	+2800

By courtesy of

431	151	+21	+2.9
489	112	n.c.	
144	135	+4	+3.2
81	51	+1	+1.9
458	47	+8	+1.8
356	67	n.c.	
239	14	+9	+3.9
382	58	-1	-3
215	23	+3	+3.1
1550	74	-49	-1.4
1195	169	-20	-1.7
885	62	+1	+1
350	108	-5	-1.4
296	36	-15	-4.8
103	129	-4	-4.2
70	29	n.c.	
265	635	n.c.	
19999	11	+499	+2.6
19201	1	+501	+2.7

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Tamuz 16, 5743 • Ramadan 17, 1403

Aridor's defeat

NO AMOUNT of effort to prettify yesterday's cabinet decision to submit the still unsettled issues in the dispute with the doctors to agreed arbitration can hide the fact that the decision represents wholesale, even if unavoidable, surrender by the cabinet.

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor is known to have opposed the idea of such arbitration. He did not want arbitration of the dispute to begin with, and he certainly did not think it right that only the still outstanding issues should be arbitrated, as the doctors insisted they should be. Any deal with the striking doctors would have to be an integrated whole, in which the several parts all depend on one another. Thus, the finance minister must have argued, it would be wrong to isolate such an issue as the doctors' regular working hours from the overall problem of their income.

Yet Mr. Aridor reportedly did not raise his hand against the arbitration proposal when it was put to the vote yesterday. He must have realized that the tide had already turned against him, and that he had lost the prime minister's backing for his hardnosed stand in the dispute. The government had no choice but make its peace with the doctors. Let the doctors' strike go on for another week, it had become clear, and for one thing, the coalition might break up. With the hospitals closing down one after the other only immediate consent to arbitration on the doctors' terms could save the country from a truly appalling disaster.

Arbitration of the entire dispute, starting from scratch, though desirable in itself, would take many months. For this reason alone it was impractical.

It would have been feasible four months ago, when the doctors' strike broke out. But at that time Mr. Aridor, haughty and self-confident, was riding high. He thought his chances of wearing the doctors down, and forcing them to stay within the hallowed 22 per cent limits, were excellent. There were, it is true, voices warning him early on that his refusal to reach what could be presented to the rest of the public sector as a just and reasonable accommodation with the doctors would cost him, and the economy, dear in the end.

But Mr. Aridor was unmoved by the argument, and he was unmoved, too, by the increasingly bitter suffering of the patients. He saved his conscience by putting all the blame on the doctors.

What defeated Mr. Aridor was the doctors' hunger strike, started down at the Soroka hospital in Beersheba nearly two weeks ago. This was an unsavoury but effective tactic. By late last week there was no longer any doubt that the finance minister could not be left in command of the negotiations with the doctors. Mr. Begin's ear was being assailed by pleas for arbitration from his health minister, Eliezer Shostak, and by representatives of the NRP and Agudat Yisrael.

With the Alignment supporting the idea, there was plainly a Knesset majority favouring it. There was no escaping a decision to arbitrate the still unsettled issues.

The Israel Medical Association should lose no time in accepting the cabinet's offer, and stop the strike at once. Details can be worked out later. There may be some difference of opinion as to the definition of outstanding issues, but the cabinet has suggested, fairly enough, that in case of disagreement the arbitrator himself would decide. For the doctors to claim that they cannot make a move before an agreed arbitrator has actually started his work, would be sheer cruelty.

Although they will eventually have to content themselves with something less than their full original demands, the doctors have now won a major battle in their contest with the Treasury. The finance minister, who put his entire prestige on the line in this contest, is a beaten man. The honourable course for him to take is not merely to resign himself to the inevitable, but to resign.

BREAKDOWN

(Continued from Page One)

night and early yesterday morning under condition it will not reveal the location. It was the first time Groff was allowed to see a reporter.

The interview location was not the site of the two soldiers' imprisonment. Groff was brought into a room blindfolded, then the blindfold was removed and he was seated in a chair beneath two PFLP-GC posters, one reading "The resistance continues."

The guards refused a request that they leave during part of the interview, but they said Groff was free to say anything he liked.

"Fifteen minutes ago, he (referring to the PFLP-GC official in the room) told me to speak frankly, to say anything I want," Groff said. The red-haired Groff appeared to be in good condition, but he had a stubble of beard on his face and rumpled hair and said he had been refused permission to have a comb or a razor.

"I asked for my watch, but it was forbidden, although all my requests are granted if it is not a security matter," said Groff. He added that his treatment was "very good, more than a prisoner" and he had made friends with his captors. "I have no enemies here on a personal basis," he said.

Groff said he is permitted to see Shalem every day, but that for some time after the breakdown Shalem had refused to see him.

"Now, we eat together every day," he said. "He is very distressed, that is clear. He doesn't remember many things — not from home, but from here. But he is a lot better. Maybe his physical condition was a little bit damaged because of his ailment, but now he is a lot better than he was."

Groff said that Shalem still has some trouble talking and eating, but had been seen by "not one, two, four but more" doctors.

"I am told that one of the best psychologists in this area is treating him," he said.

Groff said that the two men have been kept in the same location but in different cells since their capture.

He said his cell consists of a small room and a corridor barred by two electric doors.

"I have books, the food is almost excellent, sweets, chess, a Leggo game," he said. "Now I see (Shalem) almost every day. It is hard to talk to him because of his condition."

Groff said the imprisonment has been harder on Shalem because he does not speak English and has nothing to read. "I understand it is very difficult to get books in Hebrew," he said.

He said he had been visited once by an International Committee of the Red Cross delegation, which had given him five letters from his family. Letters that he writes are passed on to the Red Cross, he said.

Groff said he is a leftist and indicated he had opposed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. "It is bad enough if I tell that since the war started I have been very, very depressed," he said. "I don't think it caught (achieved) its aim. Now it is just killing. It seems very odd, this war."

"There must be a finish to it. They must find the end. The war for sure is not the solution," he said.

Groff said he had been told recently that negotiations on an exchange of prisoners between the PLO and Israel were nearly concluded — "that all that is wanted to go home is the signatures."

Israel and PLO officials have confirmed that negotiations are continuing, but have given no indication of recent progress.

him adds:

Aliuf Moshe Nativ, former head of the Israel Defence Forces Manpower Branch, said yesterday that Israel is pleased that Groff was interviewed and hopes that the PFLP-GC will now let the Red Cross visit him and Shalem soon.

Nativ added that Israel is still concerned over Shalem's health and has asked the Red Cross to supervise his medical treatment. He added further that the PLO has still not responded to Israel's offer of a prisoner exchange under Red Cross auspices.

Decline and fall

By S. FRED SINGER

IT'S BEEN 10 years since the world began to take notice of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Starting quietly around 1970-71, OPEC managed a gradual take-over of the oil concessions which had been granted to multinational oil companies. By the summer of 1973 the price of oil had doubled and there was talk of an oil crisis and of embargoes.

But it was the October 1973 war that propelled OPEC into the public consciousness. Production cutbacks by Arab producers, ostensibly in retaliation for U.S. aid to Israel, speeded up an inevitable increase in the price of oil — it quadrupled to \$12 a barrel. The suddenness of the increase and the fear of a declared embargo — which turned out to be quite ineffective except psychologically — threw the world into a panic and established the myth of Arab oil power.

This myth was reinforced in 1979-80, when the price tripled to about \$34, mainly as a result of panic buying by consuming nations and strategically timed cutbacks by Saudi Arabia. But this time OPEC overreached itself. By allowing the price to climb too high the organization set the stage for its downfall. We are seeing the beginning of this phase now.

What did OPEC — and the Arab producers as its main members — accomplish in a decade and how did it lose its grip?

The story that emerges is one of a series of misjudgments, made largely because the organization accepted the pessimistic assessment of Western experts and statesmen about the impending depletion of oil supplies.

Hadn't President Jimmy Carter promised a catastrophic oil crisis by 1983, when world demand was supposed to outstrip supply? And wasn't his forecast backed up by governmental studies (including the CIA's) and by private study groups sponsored by prestigious academic centres? And wasn't a government-financed crash programme on synthetic fuels — some \$80 billion as a starter — thought essential to Western survival?

IT'S NOT surprising that OPEC, and especially Saudi Arabia, believed not only that oil prices could rise to the level of synthetic fuels — more than \$50 a barrel — but that demand would hardly be affected by higher prices. They listened to the wrong experts. Over half of the world's oil is used as a fuel just to make heat and steam. It can be replaced directly by cheaper natural gas, coal or nuclear energy where available, without waiting for synthetic oil.

This is exactly what happened. The world has seen a massive conservation programme, including increasingly long-term measures to replace oil by cheaper energy sources and reduce its use by more efficient devices. These efforts require massive capital investments and take time. But, once accomplished, they phase out oil, even if its price should drop. Nobody will tear out the insulation in his house once it has been installed.

OPEC made another mistake by defending the price of \$34, even though it was too high. They did this by cutting production — OPEC as a whole by nearly 50 per cent and Saudi Arabia by 70 per cent. But the

high price from 1979 onward simply encouraged more conservation investments. Oil demand in the industrialized countries (OECD) has fallen by 20 per cent and can be expected to continue to decline. Another 20 per cent decline will make OECD independent of imports from OPEC, given that non-OPEC oil production grows modestly.

IN RETROSPECT, the Saudis, as the holders of the largest reserves, should have been more concerned about maintaining the long-term market for oil. They should have assessed the impact of the price rise much sooner, and should certainly not have taken action to defend a price that the market cannot support.

In assessing OPEC's fate for the coming decade — and especially that of the Arab producers — it is important to note that the Arabs never actually had oil power, that is, the ability to set up a targeted embargo or raise the price with impunity. (The 1973 experience proved the first point, the 1979 experience the latter.)

There remains the question of financial power — an important issue, both economically and politically. One trillion dollars has been transferred to the oil producers, of which only \$250 billion has been saved, principally by the Saudis and other producers on the Arabian peninsula. But this hoard is declining for the first time, as swollen budgets overwhelm much-reduced oil revenues.

And it could disappear much faster if the leaders of the oil

Dry Bones



countries should panic. It will be difficult for them to decide where to cut expenditure in a politically safe manner and how to guard against extravagant financial claims, by Iran, for example.

A GREAT DEAL of Arab oil and financial power has been directed in a "holy war" or jihad against Israel, intending first to weaken it, then to eliminate it. In the process, valuable resources have been frittered away in support of radical regimes and terrorist groups.

Yet, ten years and one billion dol-

lars later, Israel is stronger than ever and the Arab world is in disarray. With the demise of their financial power a real possibility, the Arab leaders bankrolling the jihad seen unable or unwilling to read the signs, take the bold steps required for bringing the conflict with Israel to a close, and devote their considerable resources to finally settling the Palestinian refugee problem.

The writer is senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation, on leave from the University of Virginia. He is a former deputy assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Interior.

READERS' LETTERS

SHAME ON THE DOCTORS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Doctors on a hunger strike — I find that appalling. They willingly take an oath to do all possible to keep human beings healthy. Yet a growing number of these Israeli medical personnel are intentionally doing medical damage to their own bodies by refusing the most basic of medical care — nutritious food.

How dedicated to their oath can these doctors be if they are willing to inflict medical harm upon themselves? What allows an individual or a society to tolerate such an act? I can't.

I only hope I never have to be treated by one of these so-called doctors.

BOB COHEN

Herzliya.

Sir, — The doctors who are now striking knew the conditions of work before they chose their profession — before they allowed the government to finance their medical education. And the competition to get into medical school has always been keen in Israel. So there is some compensation that doctors are eager to achieve.

Despite the tale of the trials of a doctor's wife ("Today" — June 22), most readers know that doctors somehow do manage to live on a high standard, including housing, entertainment and travel abroad — a standard which the women cleaning hospital corridors never achieve.

S. L. FIELDS

Herzliya.

Sir, — Unfortunately, our sick society today is poisoned by its love of materialism. The long-term effect of the doctors' strike is not yet known — it may never be known.

NEGATION OF ZIONIST VALUES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The exchange of views in your columns concerning discrimination against Arab Israelis in the field of benefits to large families, does indeed raise fundamental issues about the nature of Zionism and Israel.

Israel's Declaration of Independence guaranteed "complete equality of social and political rights for all its citizens, without distinction of creed, race or sex." One could quote many eloquent utterances by Israel spokesmen in international forums to this effect, including the statements made in the 1975 UN "Zionism is Racism" debate by our then representative, who is now the President of the State. What our right-wing nationalists choose to ignore is that nearly three-quarters of the Jewish people still live in Diaspora minority communities. How can we demand equality and non-discrimination for them and deny those rights to minority groups in Israel, in the name of our Zionist mission?

The Law of Return is not a precedent for this purpose. The modern Zionist movement was a reaction to anti-Semitism and the persecution and homelessness of the Jews; and

What kind of sick society do we live in, where people's lives are being used as tools for blackmail — men, women, children, young and old — even premature babies who have not even left their incubators to enter the world?

SARAH WERTHEIMER

Petah Tikva.

Sir, — In Lea Levavi's article "MD's may set up full health system" (June 17), the truth begins to emerge. The doctors and the banks have been dreaming of establishing private and doctor-run hospitals and medical groups, having seen in the United States the enormous profits which can be made on people's misery and illness.

Let me tell you about my own recent experience in the United States during my mother's terminal illness. The bill for three weeks of hospitalization was \$18,000 — nearly one million shekels.

The U.S. medical "profession" is fleecing the public, the government, the insurance schemes and getting rich, rich, and richer. Is that what Israeli doctors are striking for?

And don't let anybody tell you you don't have to wait for an appointment in the United States, for tests, examinations or hospitalization, because you do.

SHOSHANA ROUDA

Petah Tikva.

Sir, — When doctors strike, consider the Great Physician: "I am the Lord who healeth thee." (Exodus 15:26). He is on call 24 hours a day. He never charges for his services, and he delights in making house calls.

CHRISTINE DARG

Jerusalem.

its essence was the right to return to a restored national home in Eretz Yisrael. This concept underlay the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate and the partition proposals of the Peel Commission in 1937 and the United Nations in 1947. The Law of Return gave legislative effect to what had long been the Zionist and international response to the Jewish condition in the world. It has no bearing on the internal regime of the state.

The attitude towards our Arab fellow-citizens displayed by Dr. Israel Eldad and his friends is not an expression of Zionist ideology, but a negation of the Zionist and Jewish values on which this State was founded.

MICHAEL COMAY
Former Israel Ambassador
to the UN and Britain

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EVOLUTIONARY POLEMICS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Any of your readers who thinks that scientists are objective must have received a rude shock from the letter of Professor Seymour Cohen (June 10).

In his article published on May 20, professor Herman Branover presented a reasoned criticism of evolution. Since professor Cohen is opposed to Branover's thesis, one would have expected him to argue against the points which Branover makes, perhaps against his interpretation of Popper, or even to argue coherently against Popper's characterization of scientific theory.

Professor Cohen does none of these things. He does not argue; he uses abusive language, proclaims in oracular fashion that Branover's arguments are polemical and inadmissible, and takes The Jerusalem Post to task for publishing Branover's article.

It is Cohen, not Branover, who is deviating from the norms of scientific discussion.

PROFESSOR CYRIL DOMB,
Department of Physics,
Bar-Ilan University

Ramat Gan.

ARMS POLICY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Israel happens to be one of the major suppliers of arms to Central America and South Africa. The former Somoza regime in Nicaragua and the present regime in Guatemala have been among the many recipients of Israeli arms. These two regimes have become synonymous with the murder of innocent civilians: men, women and children.

This export policy is not new. Israel was selling arms to Central American countries long before Begin came to power in 1977. There seems to be a national consensus that this is good for Israel, although it contradicts some of the moral values we Israelis were brought up with.

When the French sell weapons to Arab countries, we cry anti-Semitism and opportunism. When we sell arms to South Africa and Central America, the motivation is "national security." How far can we stretch this excuse?

PETER OHRRING

Boulder, Colorado.

SUPPLEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The Jerusalem Post's magazine supplement of May 31 on South African tourism tells pretty stories of Stellenbosch wineries, the Kruger National Park and Zulu love beads. There is naught amiss in this world, nary an unhappy whisper.

Yet in the real South Africa, the most loathsome racism is an ordinary fact of daily life. In the real South Africa, humans with the wrong skin colour are deprived of social franchise, limited to squalid townships and fraudulent petty states, and either suffer their grievances or die for them.

To separate the "tourist world" from a pervasive environment of systematized racial oppression means acquiescing in a Tourist Board-sponsored illusion. With a little extra effort at self-delusion, a determined non-observer might never notice that his hotel is for Whites Only.

One assumes that The Post undertakes such topical supplements for the balance sheet advantages that the project offers. Set against this is The Post's editorial policy, one that has been characterized by fair play and that has specifically rejected racism in various domestic and foreign contexts. This points to a glaring ethical gap between The

Post's commercial and editorial considerations that liberties of commerce and press cannot explain away.

Even the credibility of The Post staff suffers. Joanna Yehiel, the supplement's lead writer, has repeatedly addressed the civil rights of Israel's women in her previous work.

The South Africa tourism supplement provided one of its official bodies with the opportunity to sell a fairy tale unchanged. Another, vastly different South Africa was left as a horror story that isn't happening.

JOE LOCKARD
PATRICIA O'DONOVAN
LOCKARD
MARC COHEN

Jerusalem.

Supplements of this nature in The Jerusalem Post and in the press in general focus on a single theme. That is their purpose. Thus travel supplements about Israel in papers abroad also highlight the pleasures of Israel — the past, the sun etc. — and not terrorism or war, just as travel supplements about England don't dwell on unemployment or Irish bombs. Those realities, as with the case of apartheid, receive their appropriate treatment in a newspaper's daily coverage. ED. JP.

OIL EXPLORATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The heading of Charles Hoffman's article of June 16, "Private drilling rigs threaten oil exploration," says official, "is somewhat misleading."

Private rig operators do not threaten oil exploration; on the contrary, they foster oil exploration. What they threaten is the government's Lapidot exploration company, which is another of our holy cows whose interests must be protected at all costs, even if it forces us to import all our fuel requirements, notwithstanding the possibility that private enterprise might make a strike which would be profitable both to the company operating the rig and to all Israelis.

The Energy Ministry official states: "There is considerable room for improvement in Lapidot — for example, they are too expensive." Of course they are expensive. They are a government concern interested in status and a monopoly, and no economy can develop with

monopolistic controls.

Why should the Energy Ministry be concerned if private operators are going to have problems with spare parts, which is absolute balderdash, as no private concern will embark on a project as expensive as setting up oil rigs unless it is in a position to obtain both finances and spare parts?

The wealth of the Gulf States and Iran as regards oil production was not developed by local Lapidots, but by foreign drilling companies. Iran did not object to Aramco and the Saudis did not worry about the spare parts of Exxon, Standard, etc. The fact that they later nationalized their fuel reserves is besides the point. It was competition, to which the Energy Ministry objects, that developed their national resources. And they did not concern themselves if others might make a profit — everybody profited.

J. GOODMAN

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